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# THE CAMDEN MISCELLANY,

## VOLUME THE SEVENTH:

CONTAINING

TWO SERMONS PREACHED BY THE BOY-BISHOP, ONE AT ST. PAUL'S, TEMP. HENRY VIII., THE OTHER AT GLOUCESTER, TEMP. MARY.

SPEECH OF SIR ROBERT HEATH IN THE CASE OF ALEXANDER LEIGHTON.

NOTES ON THE JUDGMENT DELIVERED BY SIR GEORGE CROKE IN THE CASE OF SHIP-MONEY.

LETTERS RELATING TO THE MISSION OF SIR THOMAS ROE TO GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS 1629-30.

RECEIPTS AND EXPENSES IN THE BUILDING OF BODMIN CHURCH 1469 TO 1472.

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.LXXV.

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# TWO SERMONS

PREACHED BY

# THE BOY BISHOP

AT

ST. PAUL'S, TEMP. HENRY VIII., AND AT GLOUCESTER, TEMP. MARY.

EDITED BY JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, F.S.A.

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION GIVING AN ACCOUNT

OF

## THE FESTIVAL OF THE BOY BISHOP

IN ENGLAND,

BY EDWARD F. RIMBAULT, LL.D.,

&c., &c.

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.LXXV.

# TO THE READER.

THE subject of the following pages, it is well known, for many years engaged the attention of the late Mr. John Gough Nichols, who desired to give an exhaustive account of one of the most ancient and interesting festivals of our forefathers—interesting on many accounts, but particularly so from its bearing upon the education of our early choristers. Unfortunately Mr. Nichols did not live to carry out his intentions. Had he done so, the members of the Camden Society would have been in possession of a far different work from that now presented to them.

Mr. Nichols had made considerable collections for a history of the festival of the Boy Bishop throughout Europe, but, upon these papers being handed over to me, it was found that they were jottings, to be investigated at leisure, and would take months, nay perhaps years, to work out with any degree of satisfaction. Under these circumstances all that could be done was to confine my remarks to the Boy Bishop in England—a subject to which I had given some little attention—and to prefix them to the two Sermons which Mr. Nichols had already prepared for the press. In so doing I have availed myself of several of that gentleman's remarks,

which are duly acknowledged in their proper places. I have also prefixed a short bibliographical and biographical preface to the Sermons, and have added a curious document (found among Mr. Nichols's papers) as an Appendix. For the few notes to the latter, the members are indebted to the late Dr. Rock, the learned author of "The Church of our Fathers." And I may refer the reader to Brand's Popular Antiquities[a] for some general information on the subject.

To my kind friend William Chappell, Esq., F.S.A., I must express my obligations for his translation of part of the York Computus (pp. 11-15), which Mr. Nichols had left unfinished, and for many valuable suggestions throughout the work.

EDWARD F. RIMBAULT.

29, St. Mark's Crescent, Regent's Park, N.W.
Midsummer 1875.

[a] Vol. 1, ed. 1849, p. 421

# INTRODUCTION.

In the middle ages festivities were a part of human existence into which all classes entered with hearty interest. The song and the dance, and the rude drama, were not confined within the walls of the hall or theatre, but they were familiar to the public ear and the public gaze in the open market-place and at the corners of the streets. They were attendant on the processions of the Church and the pageantry of the guilds, and regularly succeeded the more important business of life as one day followed another. Throughout the year, except during Lent, there was a constant series of holidays, kept in commemoration of the saints; and those days, by religion and by custom, were divided between sacred rites and secular discussions, each portion of such celebration combining a large amount of ceremonial, pomp, and parade.

The saints were all invested with special attributes and special claims to worship and adoration. They were intercessors not only in mental distresses and anxieties, in physical pains and diseases, and in accidental misfortunes and losses,—not to speak of the aspirations of ambition or worldliness, upon which Erasmus has inflicted such amusing satire,—but to each of them, according to their respective character and merits, was attributed a tutelary influence over localities, seasons, and circumstances; over every variety of worldly occupation, and over even sports and pastimes.

The Festival of St. Nicholas, observed on the 6th of December, was marked by several pecularities which connect the saint with the

marine deities of Scandinavia, of Greece, and of Rome. He is said by Moreri to have been Bishop of Myra in the fourth century, and he was accounted a saint of the highest virtue, even in his earliest infancy. This saint has ever been considered the patron of scholars and of youth, for which a reason has been assigned by the Rev. W. Cole, from a Life of Saint Nicholas printed in 1645 (3rd edit.): "An Asiatic gentleman, sending his two sons to Athens for education, ordered them to wait on the Bishop for his benediction. On arriving at Myra with their baggage they took up their lodgings at an inn, proposing to defer their visit till the morrow; but in the mean time the innkeeper, to secure their effects to himself, killed the young gentlemen, cut them into pieces, salted them, and intended to sell them for pickled pork. St. Nicholas being favoured with a sight of these proceedings in a vision, went to the inn, and reproached the landlord with the crime, who, immediately confessing it, entreated the saint to pray to Heaven for his pardon. The Bishop, moved by his confession and contrition, besought forgiveness for him and supplicated restoration of life to the children. Scarcely had he finished when the pieces reunited, and the resuscitated youths threw themselves from the brine tub at the feet of the Bishop: he raised them up, blessed them, and sent them to Athens, with great joy, to prosecute their studies."[a]

The most important feature of the festival of St. Nicholas was the election of the Boy-Bishop, *Episcopus Puerorum*, *Episcopus Choristarum*. This festival was not confined to one country, and, of course, therefore, it may be easily imagined that it assumed a very different complexion according to time and place, being in one locality of a serious character, and in another verging closely on the burlesque. The best account we

[a] Hone, Ancient Mysteries, p. 193. See a good account of the legends connected with St. Nicholas in Hampson's Medii Ævi Kalendarium, i. 66 *et seq.*

have of it in the first of these forms is from the learned John Gregory, whose attention was called to the subject by happening to find that "in the cathedral of Sarum there lieth a monument in stone, of a little boie habited all in episcopal robes, a miter upon his head, a crosier in his hand, and the rest accordingly. The monument lay long buried under the seats near the pulpit, at the removal whereof it was of late years discovered, and translated from thence to the north part of the nave, where it now lieth betwixt the pillars, covered over with a box of wood, not without a general imputation of raritie and reverence, it seeming almost impossible to everie one, that either a bishop could bee so small in person, or a childe so great in clothes." Finding that he could obtain no solution of this mystery from the learned, Gregory obtained a sight of the old statutes of the Cathedral, and was fortunate enough to find one amongst them with the title DE EPISCOPO CHORISTARUM —*of the Chorister-Bishop*. This referred him to the *Sarum Processionale*, in which he found the following minute and curious description of the ceremony: "The Episcopus Choristarum was a chorister-bishop chosen by his fellow children upon St. Nicholas' daie . . . . From this daie till Innocents' day at night (it lasted longer at the first), the *Episcopus Puerorum* [Boy-Bishop] was to bear the name and hold up the state of a bishop, answerably habited, with a crosier or pastoral staff in his hand, and a miter upon his head; and such an one too som had, as was *multis episcoporum mitris sumtuosior*, saith one—verie much richer than those of bishops indeed. The rest of his fellows from the same time beeing were to take upon them the style and counterfaict of prebends, yielding to their bishops (or els as if it were) no less then canonical obedience. And look what service the verie bishop himself with his dean and prebends (had they been to officiate) was to have performed, the mass excepted, the verie same

was don by the chorister-bishop and his canons upon this Eve and the Holiedaie. By the use of Sarum,—for 'tis almost the onely place where I can hear anie thing of this,[a]—that of York in their *Processional* seemeth to take no notice of it—upon the Eve to Innocents' daie the chorister-bishop was to go in solemn procession with his fellows *ad altare Sanctæ Trinitatis et omnium Sanctorum* (as the PROCESSIONAL—or *ad altare Innocentium sive Sanctæ Trinitas*, as the PIE[b]) *in capis, et cereis ardentibus in manibus*, in their copes, and burning tapers in their hands, the bishop beginning and the other boies following, *Centum quadraginta quatuor*, &c. Then the vers, *Hi empti sunt ex omnibus*, &c. And this is sang by three of the boies. Then all the boies sing the PROSA[c] *Sedentem in supernæ majestatis arce*, &c. The chorister-bishop in the meantime fumeth the altar first, and then the image of the Holie Trinitie. Then the bishop saith, *modesta voce*, the verse *Lætamini;* and the respond is *Et gloriamini*, &c. Then the praier which wee yet retain—*Deus cujus hodierna die*, &c. But the rubrick to the pie saith, *sacerdos dicat*, both the praier and the lætamini—that is, som rubricks do; otherwise I take the benediction to bee of more priestlie consequence then the *oremus*, &c., which yet was solemnly performed by the chorister-bishop, as will follow. In their return from the altar, *præcentor puerorum incipiat*, &c.—the chanter-chorister is to begin—De Sancta Maria, &c. The respond is *Felix namque*, &c. Sic processio, &c. The procession was made into the quire by the west door, and in such order (as it should seem by Molanus) that

[a] This is a somewhat extraordinary statement to make, for Gregory had the reputation of being a man of research. The custom of electing a Boy Bishop was universal.

[b] The PIE was the old Romish Ordinal, in Latin called Pica. "Ordinale quod usitato dicitur Pica sive Directorium Sacerdotum."

[c] The PROSA or PROSE is a name for certain songs of rejoicing, chanted before the gospel, and so called because the regular laws of metre are not observed in them.

the dean and canons went foremost, the chaplains next, the bishop with his little prebends in the last and highest place. The bishop taketh his seat, and the rest of the children dispose of themselves upon each side of the quire upon the uppermost ascent, the canons resident bearing the incens and the book, and the petit canons the tapers, according to the rubrick. And from this hour to the full end of the next daies procession, none of the clergy, whatever may be their rank, ascend to the upper seats.

"Then the bishop from his seat says the vers, *Speciosus formâ*, &c. *Diffusa est gratia labiis tuis.* Then the praier, *Deus qui salutis æternæ*, &c. *Pax vobis.* Then, after the *Benedicamus Domino*, the bishop of the children sitting in his seat is to give the benediction, or bless the people in this manner: *Princeps Ecclesiæ, pastor ovilis, cunctam plebem tuam benedicere digneris*, &c. Then turning towards the people hee singeth or saith (for all this was in plano cantu; that age was so far from skilling discants or the fuges that they were not come up to counterpoint) *Cum mansuetudine humilitate vos ad benedictionem*, the chorus answering *Deo gratias.* Then the cross-bearer delivereth up the crosier to the bishop again, and then the bishop, having first crossed his forehead, says, *Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini*, the chorus answering *qui fecit cælum et terram.* Then, after some other like ceremonies performed, the Episcopus Puerorum, or chorister-bishop, begineth the *Completorium* or *Complyn*, and that don he turneth towards the quire and saith, *Adjutorium*, &c. Then last of all he saith, *Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus pater, et filius, et spiritus sanctus.*

"ON INNOCENTS' DAY, *at the second vespers, let the cross-bearer receive the crosier of the boy-bishop, and let them sing the antiphon as at the first vespers. Likewise let the boy-bishop bless the people in the way above-mentioned, and the service of this day be thus fulfilled.* (RUBRIC PROCESSIONAL). And all this was don with

that solemnitie of celebration and appetite of seeing that the statute of Sarum was forced to provide that no man whatsoever, under the pain of anathema, should interrupt or press upon these children at the procession spoken of before, or in anie other part of their service in anie waies, but to suffer them quietly to perform and execute what it concerned them to do. And the part was acted yet more earnestly, for Molanus saith that this bishop in some places did receive rents, capons, &c. during his year, &c.; and it seemeth by the statute of Sarum that hee held a kind of visitation, and had a full corespondencie of all other state and prerogative. More then all this, Molanus[a] tells us of a chorister-bishop in the church of Cambraie who disposeth of a prebend which fell void in his moneth (or year, for I know not which it was) to his master. In case the chorister-bishop died within the moneth, his exsequies were solemnized with an answerable glorious pomp and sadness. He was buried, as all other bishops, in all his ornaments, as by the monument of stone, spoken of before, it plainly appeareth."[b]

After having performed the functions of a bishop within his own cathedral church and city, the next part the boy-bishop had to play was that of making a visitation. That this was not unusual we learn from the Northumberland Household Book, in which it is mentioned that the Earl was annually accustomed to entertain the boy-bishop of York and Beverley, and from the notice we have of the boy-bishop at Winchester.[c] The privilege was in some instances

[a] "D. Joannes de Molanus, De Historia S. Imaginum de Picturarum," 12mo. Lugduni, 1619.

[b] "Episcopus Puerorum, in Die Innocentium; or, A Discourse of an Antient Custom in the Church of Sarum, making an anniversarie Bishop among the Choristers." Pages 95-123 in Gregorii Posthuma; or Certain Learned Tracts written by John Gregorie, 4to. Lond. 1649.

[c] "It was upon this festival that some wealthy man or another of the parish would make an entertainment on the occasion for his own household, and invite his neighbours' children to come and partake of it; and of course Nicholas and his

restrained; as when Bishop Mortival, at Salisbury, in 1319, forbad for the future both feast and visitation (*convivium aliquod de cetero vel visitationem exterius vel interius nullatenus faciendo);* and as when Bishop Grandison in the statutes for his college at Ottery St. Mary declared that the boys were not to be allowed on the feast of the Holy Innocents to wander beyond the parish of Ottery. But a York Computus, A.D. 1396, gives a very circumstantial account of the visitation made by the boy-bishop in that year. This curious roll, in the possession of Canon Raine, was lent to the late Mr. J. G. Nichols, and from it he constructed a short narrative of the boy-bishop's progress, which will be read with interest from the minuteness of its details, and the graphic character of some of its descriptions. As Canon Raine justly observes, "It is unique, and throws more light upon the subject than anything that has yet been seen."

The roll purports to be "The Account of Nicholas of Newark, guardian of the property of John de Cave, boy-bishop in the year of our Lord [13]96." The Receipts were derived partly from offerings in the cathedral church, partly from the contributions of the canons, and partly from the gifts of the nobility and of the monasteries which the bishop visited. They are in the accompt divided under three heads: the first containing the following: From the offerings on Christmas day, xij d.; offerings on Innocents' day, xxiv s. j d., with a silver spoon weighing xx d., a silver ring and a silk purse; from William de Kexby the precentor, xx d.; from master John de Schir-

clerks sat in the highest place. The *Golden Legend* tells how 'a man, for the love of his sone that went to scole for to lerne, halowed every year the feast of Saynt Nycholas moche solemply. On a tyme it happed that the fader had to make redy the dyner, and called many clerkes to this diner.' (Wynkyn de Worde, Lond. 1527.) Individuals sometimes bequeathed money to find a yearly dinner on St. Nicholas's day for as many as a hundred scholars, who were, after that, to pray for the soul of the founder of the feast."—Dr. Rock's *Church of our Fathers*, iii. part 2, 216.

burne, the chancellor, ij s.; from master John de Newton, treasurer *ad Novam*,[a] vj s. viij d.; from master Thomas Dalby, Archdeacon of Richmond, vj s. viij d.; from master Nicholas de Feriby, vj s. viij d.; and from master Thomas de Wallworth, vj s. viij d.; total, lv s. v d. Secondly, in the town were received: from the Lord Abbot of St. Mary's without the Walls of York, vj s. viij d.; and from master William de Feriby, Archdeacon of the East Riding, iij s. iv d.; total, x s. But the largest receipts arose from "the country:" being the gifts of those to whom the bishop went in his visitation. They amounted in all to v l. x s.: the particular donations we shall see in following the bishop's progress. Altogether the receipts amounted to viij l. xv s. v d.

The expenses commenced on the 23rd of December, when *O Virgo virginum* was sung, and then j d. was spent in bread for wafer, and vj d. in ale.

Within the city various purchases were made for the use of the bishop: a torch weighing twelve pounds cost iv s. iij d.; a cap, ix d.; a pair of linen gloves, iij d.; a pair of sleeves or cuffs, iij d.; a pair of knives, xiv d.; a pair of spurs, v d.; for the making of his gown, xviij d.; lamb's wool bought for his overcoat, ij s. vj d.; furs, vj s.; faggots through the whole time, viij d.; sea-coal, vij d.; charcoal, x d.; Paris candle; iiij d. ob.; xxviii pairs of gloves for the vicars and masters of the schools; iij s. iv d. ob.; and for mending a silk cope, ij d.

The bishop's great supper *on the eve of Innocents' day* cost xv s. vj d. ob., viz.: in bread, vij d.; lord's bread, iv d.; ale, xxj d.; veal and mutton, ix d. ob.; sausages, iv d.; two ducks, iv d.; twelve chickens, ij s. vj d.; eight woodcocks and one plover, ijs. ijd.; three dozen and ten field-fares, xix d.; small birds, iij d.; wine, ij s. iij d.; various spices (or grocery), xj d.; sixty wardens (pears), v d. ob.;

[a] The meaning of "ad Novam" is uncertain.

honey, ij d. ob.; mustard, j d.; two pounds of candles, ij d. ob.; flour, ij d.; fuel, j d. ob.; and to the cook, vj d.

At the supper on *Innocent's day* was spent, in bread, iij d.; ale, v d.; veal and mutton, vij d.; pepper and saffron, j d.

In the next week nothing was done; but on Thursday, the 4th of January, being *the octave of Innocents' day*, they went to Kexby (seven miles from York), the mansion of Sir Thomas Utrecht, knight, who gave the bishop iij s. iv d. They returned to a supper, at which was spent, in bread, ij d.; ale, iv d.; and meat, v d. On the succeding Friday and Saturday the roll states that "they did not visit."

On the second Sunday of his episcopate, which was *the feast of Saint William* (Jan. 7), the bishop went out of town on his longest circuit. A girdle was now bought for him which cost iij d., and he had not gone far when his cap required mending at the expense of j d. His party took a breakfast before starting, and consumed, in bread, ij d.; in meat, v d.; and in ale, iij d. The sum of ij d. was also paid for "horse-bread." Their first visit appears to have been to the Prior of Kirkham, who gave the bishop ij s.; and the second to the wealthier Prior of Malton, whose offering was a noble. They proceeded next to the Countess of Northumberland living at Leconfield, who was the bishop's most generous benefactor: she gave him twenty shillings and a gold ring. From thence to Bridlington, where the prior gave him a noble. He next gathered iij s. iv d. from the Prior of Watton, and the like sum from the Rector of Baynton and from the Prior of Meaux. Between the two last places the cavalcade passed through Beverley, where a girth was bought for j d. He proceeded to Ferriby, where the prior gave him xx d.; Sir Stephen de Scrope gave him vj s. viij d.; and to the priory of Drax, where he received ij s.

On coming to the abbey of Selby, the head of that great monastery gave him a noble; from the Prior of Pontefract he had

half a noble; and from the Prior of St. Oswald at Nostell a noble. The Prior of Monk Bretton gave him half a noble, and "Dominus John Depdene" a noble. He went to the residence of the Lady Marmion at Tanfield on the Yore and received a noble and a gold ring with a silk purse; to the residence of Lady Darcy, "the Lady of Harlsay," and obtained half a noble; and to the Lady Roos at Helmsley Castle, who gave him a noble.

He now came to the abbey of Rievaulx and had only two shillings; the like at Byland abbey; the like at Newburgh priory; and twenty pence at the priory of Marton.

On the Saturday the travellers again returned to York, and had a supper, for which the fish cost vj d, the bread ij d. ob., and the ale ij d. The accompt of the "expenses within the city" concludes with this item, "On the fifth Sunday and to the end of the Purification (Feb. 2) nothing."

The expenses upon the road, which have not been hitherto enumerated, were, in an offering at Bridlyngton, ij d., and given in alms there j d. At that stage of the journey a new girth was required, for which j d. was paid, and the old one was repaired for an ob. A second horse-comb was also purchased, the first having been bought at York, and the two together cost iiij d. Upon three different occasions was money spent in "ferilay" = ferry-hire, or payment at the ferry; the first time at Melsam, the second time at Drax, and the third time at Harlsay. The charge at each place was iiij d. At Selby they spent iiij d. in horse-bread, and paid a penny to the barber, whose employment was more probably upon the beard of the tenor singer or other men of the company than upon the chin of the boy-bishop. The horses were re-shod at Ferriby, at Fountains, and at Newburgh, costing in the first-named place viij d., in the second iiij d., and in the third iij d.

The excursionists supped once at Leeds at a cost of xvij d. for

themselves, and of xiij d. in hay and oats for the horses; and once at Ripley, where their own supper cost xvj d., and the hay and oats for the horses xij d. ob. In baiting at Allerton they spent vj d. and the like sum for horse-bread and hay at Helmslay. It may be noted that horse-bread is still in use in some parts of the continent. During the journey the boy-bishop alone seems to have been treated with wine, the cost of which was viij d.

The two last heads of the accompt enumerate the attendants upon the child-bishop. Under that of "Wages of servants and horses" it is stated that there was paid "To Nicholas de Newsome, his tenor singer, one mark; and to the same for his led horse, ij s.; to Robert Dawtry, his steward, one noble, and for his preachings in the chapel, ij s. j d. ob.; to John Baynton, chanting the medius voice part, x s.; to John Grene, v s.; to John Ellay, iij s. iv d.; to John Schapton, serving him with his two horses, x s. ij d.; to Thomas Marschale for one horse, iij s. iv d.; for a saddle for one horse, iij s. vj d.; to the baker for one horse, iij s. vj d.; and to Richard Fewler for two horses, v s. The "fees of the ministers serving in the church" were: To the succentor of the vicars, ij s.; to the sub-chancellor, xij d.; to the wax of the boys, xij d.; to the clerks of the vestments, xij d.; to the sacrists, xij d.; for the adornment of the episcopal chair, iv d.; in wood for stalls, iv d. (an entry which is obliterated); in common pence,[a] xviij d.; and to the guardian (or master) of the choristers, iij s. iv d.

The total sum of the expenses amounted to vj l. xiv s. x d. ob., and there consequently remained of the receipts, for the use of the bishop, forty shillings and sixpence halfpenny.[b]

York holds a conspicuous place in the annals of the boy-bishop. In the register of the capitulary acts of the Cathedral, under the

[a] Perhaps distributed to the choristers.

[b] A copy of the original document is given as an Appendix.

date Dec. 2, 1367, it is ordered, as an indispensable qualification, "that the Bishop of the boys should for the future be he who had served longest in the church, and who should be most suitable; provided, nevertheless, that he was sufficiently handsome in person; and that any election otherwise should not be valid.[a] The boy-bishop was supposed to be elected by his chapter, as were ordinary bishops; but the choice was probably directed by the higher authorities in favour of the most deserving boy.

Many other notices might possibly be found in the York records, but the search would be attended with some labour. A slight investigation made by Canon Raine, some few years since, revealed the following curious list of boy-bishops:—

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Test. S. Nich. | 6 Dec. 1416. | Confirm. | elect. | Ric. Massam in Episc. puerorum. |
| „ | 6 Dec. 1417. | Conf. | „ | Hen. Fournas. |
| „ | 6 Dec. 1418. | „ | „ | Thos. Thorp. |
| „ | 6 Dec. 1420. | „ | „ | —— de Burgh. |
| „ | 6 Dec. 1485. | „ | „ | Thos. Malson, choristæ. |
| „ | 6 Dec. 1486. | „ | „ | John Clerk, do. |
| „ | 6 Dec. 1487. | „ | „ | Thos. Greves, do. |
| „ | 6 Dec. 1488. | „ | „ | James Beswyk. |
| „ | 7 Dec. 1503. | „ | „ | Ric. Plummer. |
| „ | 6 Dec. 1537. | „ | „ | Geo. Nevell, choristæ. |

The election and investment of the boy-bishop certainly proceeded from the festival of sub-deacons, also called Festum Fatuorum, Festum Stultorum, Fête des Fous, Festival of Fools, &c.; the burlesque election of a mock pope, mock cardinals and bishops, attended by a thousand absurd ceremonies, gambols, and antics. "It does not appear," says Strutt, speaking of the former, "at what period this idle ceremony was first established, but probably it was ancient, at least we can trace it back to the

[a] Warton's *History of English Poetry*, ed. 1840, iii. 251, where other curious extracts from the York Registers are given.

fourteenth century [thirteenth century].[a] In all the collegiate churches it was customary for one of the children of the choir, completely apparelled in the episcopal vestments, with a mitre and crosier, to bear the title and state of a bishop. He exacted a ceremonial obedience from his fellows, who, dressed like priests, took possession of the church, and performed all the ceremonies and offices which might have been celebrated by a bishop and his prebendaries. Warton, and the author of the MS. which he has followed, add, 'the mass excepted'; but the proclamation of Henry VIII. for the abolition of this custom, proves they did 'sing masse.'"[b] After the election of a boy-bishop, he was escorted in his mitre by a solemn procession of the other boys to church, where, as we have seen, he presided at the worship, and afterwards he and his deacons went about singing from door to door, and collecting money; not begging, but demanding it as a subsidy. In 1274 the Council of Nice prohibited this mock election, though so late as the time of Hospinian, who wrote in the seventeenth century, it was customary at schools dedicated to Pope Gregory the Great, who was a patron of scholars, for one of the boys to be his representative on the occasion and to act as pope, with some of his companions as cardinals. As Brand wisely observes, 'Ecclesiastical synods and censures have often proved too weak to suppress popular

[a] "On December 7, 1299, the morrow of St. Nicholas, the boy-bishop in the chapel at Heton, near Newcastle-upon-Tyne, said vespers before Edward the First, then on his way to Scotland, who gave a considerable present to him and the boys that sang with him."—Hampson's *Medii Ævi Kalendarium*, i. 79. This is possibly the earliest notice we have of the boy-bishop in this country. See also the Wardrobe Account of 23 Edward I. 1299, published by the Society of Antiquaries, p. 25.

[b] *Sports and Pastimes*, book iv. chap. 3, sect. 10. "Warton quotes the fragment of a *computus* of Hyde Abbey, near Winchester, which is at variance with the assertion, made by himself and Strutt, that the boy-bishop did not perform mass; it is a disbursement, in 1327, for feasting the boy-bishop, who celebrated mass on St. Nicholas's day."—Hampson, *Medii Ævi Kalendarium*, i. 80.

spectacles, which take deep root in the public manners, and are only concealed for a while, to spring up afresh with new vigour.'

The festival of the boy-bishop was largely aided by the contributions of the monastic establishments; to what extent may be gleaned from the following passage, extracted from a MS. note by Mr. Nichols. "In the yearly accompt rolls of the Priory of Finchale the *Episcopus Elemosinariæ* is first mentioned in the year 1367. For some years the money paid him is mixed with other sums; but in 1395 it stands alone as iij s. iiij d.; and again in 1413 (after having disappeared for some years), 'Item Episcopo Elemosinariæ ex curialitate, iij s. iiij d.;' that is, 'of courtesy,' and not absolutely of right; the same sum the next year; but in 1417 only ij s., and so for some years after. In 1423 the monks of Finchale, grown more generous, not only gave to the Bishop of the Almonry iij s., but also to the Bishop of Elvett, of courtesy, xx d. The latter must have been a boy-bishop elected in the parish, so called, an outlying portion of the city of Durham. In 1424 the Bishop of the Almonry again had iij s. iiij d., and so forward yearly until 1430; when again, and for several years after, the payment was only ij s. In 1439 the entry is, 'Et Episcopo Puerili Elemosinariæ, ij s.' which is repeated in subsequent years. In 1449 the entry is, 'Et in diversis donis datis hoc anno, ac Episcopo Puerili Dunelm. et cantoribus ad festum Natalis Domini, xij s. vj d.,' and so to 1457; but in 1458 the words 'ac Episcopo Puerili' are carefully erased in both copies that exist of the roll, and the sum of the entry is reduced from xxvj s. to xxij s. This shows that the contribution was in that year withdrawn; nor was it again made until the year 1466, when the Episcopus Puerilis received iij s. iiij d. The same is returned in subsequent years with some intermissions. In 1474 the entry is, 'Et solvit ad officium Feretrarii (the keeper of the shrine of Saint Cuthbert at Durham) pro Episcopo Puerili, iij s. iiij d.'; and in 1478, 'Et ad

officium Feretrarii pro duobus annis Episcopo Puerili vj s. viij d.' The payment of iiij s. iiij d. continues to the latest roll in 1528."[a]

Dr. George Hall, Bishop of Chester (who died in 1668), in his "Triumph of Romanism" published in 1655, has a characteristic passage concerning this festival: "What merry work," exclaims the good bishop, "it was here in the days of our holy fathers (and I know not whether, in some places, it may not be so still) that upon St. Nicholas, St. Katherine, St. Clement, and Holy Innocents' day, children were wont to be arrayed in chimera, rochets, surplices, to counterfeit bishops and priests, and to be led, with songs and dances, from house to house, blessing the people, who stood grinning in the way to expect that ridiculous benediction; yea, that boys in that holy sport were wont to sing masses, and to climb into the pulpit to preach (no doubt learnedly and edifying) to the simple

[a] Charters, &c. of Finchale Priory, *Surtees Soc.* 1837.

In his Glossary (p. ccccxxviii) Dr. Raine has inadvertently connected the entries *Episcopo Puerili* with those *Cantoribus ad ludum suum*, adding that "in later years, before the Reformation, the latter entry was the only one, but it referred to both, and included the two constitutions." This, however, is not the case. The entry *Episcopo Puerili*, iij s. iiij d. continues to the last, and more frequently than otherwise separated by a considerable interval from the entry, *Cantoribus ad ludum suum*, ij s. The Christmas *ludus* of the singing-men was clearly a distinct matter from the celebration of the boy-bishop. It seems to have been simply a feast, like the *Ludi Prioris*, to which the cell of Finchale yearly made a contribution approaching or exceeding xxx s., and in 1483 a still larger sum, "Et in vino dato in ludis domini Prioris et in die annalis Capituli, xxxviij s. ij d." From the similar entry of xxxiiij s. in 1495, it appears that the Prior had yearly four of these *ludi*, of which Dr. Raine has given various particulars in his Glossary *sub voce*, and which are more fully developed in the Durham Household Book, another volume of the Surtees Society, 1844. The false impression that these "games of the lord prior" were connected with "the mock solemnity of the Boy Bishop" was carried on by Dr. Raine from his early work on "Saint Cuthbert," 4to. 1838, p. 136, where he also stated that the latter "was partly performed in the Infirmary, and always for its benefit." These I believe to have been misapprehensions. The profits or surplus of the collections made for the boy-bishop appear everywhere to have been given to the boy himself.—J. G. N.

auditory. And this was so really done, that in the cathedral church of Salisbury (unless it be lately defaced) there is a perfect monument of one of these boy bishops (who died in the time of his young pontificality) accoutred in his episcopal robes, still to be seen. A fashion that lasted until the later times of King Henry the Eighth, who, in 1541, by his solemn proclamation, printed by Thomas Berthelet, the King's printer, cum privilegio, stoutly forbad the practice."[a]

The proclamation here alluded to was "devised by the Kings Majesty, by the advyse of his highness counsel, the xxii day of Julie, xxxiii Hen. VIII., commanding the feasts of Saint Luke, Saint Mark, Saint Mary Magdalene, Inuention of the Crosse, and Saint Lawrence, which had been vsed, should be nowe againe celebrated and kept holie days" And, following the example of the synod of Carnot, which in 1526 had decreed that no scholars, clerks, or priests should, under pretence of recreation, enact any folly or levity in the church on the feast of St. Nicholas, St. Catherine, the Innocents, or any other days, and that the garments of the fools performing theatrical characters should be cast out of church, Henry concludes his proclamation thus: "Whereas heretofore dyvers and many superstitions and chyldysh obseruances have be vsed, and yet to this day are observed and kept, in many and sundry parts of this realm, as vpon Saint Nicholas, Saint Catherine, Saint Clement, the Holy Innocents, and such like, children be strangelie decked and apparayled to counterfeit priestes, bishoppes, and women,[b] and so be ledde with songes and daunces from house to house, blessing the people and gatheryng of money;

[a] Quoted by Brand, *Pop. Antiq.* ed 1849, i. 422.

[b] In explanation of this we may remark that there is an injunction given to the Benedictine nunnery at Godstowe, in Oxfordshire, by Archbishop Peckham, in 1278, that on Innocents' day "the public prayers should not any more be said in the church of that monastery *per Parvulas*," *i.e.* little girls.

and boyes do singe masse and preache in the pulpitt, with svche other vnfittinge and inconuenient vsages, rather to the derysyon than any true glory of God, or honor of his sayntes: The Kynges Maiestie therefore, myndinge nothinge so moche as to aduance the true glory of God without vaine superstition, wylleth and commandeth that from henceforth all svch superstitious obseruations be left and clerely extinguished throwout his realmes and dominions, for asmvch as the same doth resemble rather the vnlawfull superstition of gentilitie, than the pure and sincere religion of Christe."[a]

In the second year of Queen Mary, when all the other ceremonies connected with the holidays of the saints had been revived, the festival of St. Nicholas was also resumed. Machyn tells us in his Diary, that on the 13th of November, 1554, it "was commanded by the Bishop of London (Bonner) to all clerks in the diocese of London to have Saint Nicholas, and to go abroad as many as could have it." On the 5th of December following, being the eve of the festival, this was counter-ordered; and "at the same time came a commandment (from what authority is not stated) that Saint Nicholas should not go abroad, nor about. But, notwithstanding, (adds Machyn) there went about Saint Nicholases in divers parishes, at St. Andrew's, Holborn, and St. Nicholas Olave, in Bread-street."[b]

Two years later the same writer notices the custom as fully re-established in the metropolis. "The 5th of December (1556) was Saint Nicholas' even, and Saint Nicholas went abroad in most parts of London singing after the old fashion, and was received with many good people into their houses, and had much cheer as ever they had in many places."

The following story, preserved in the Actes and Monuments of

[a] This proclamation is printed in Wilkins's *Concilia*.

[b] See the Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant Taylor of London, from A.D. 1550 to 1563. Edited by J. Gough Nichols, for the Camden Society, in 1848.

John Foxe, belongs to the same year. "A godly matrone, named Gertrude Crockhay, the wife of maistre Robert Crockehay, dwelling then at Saint Katharins by the Tower of London, abstained herself from the Popish church. She being in her husband's house, it happened in anno 1556 that the foolish Popish Saint Nicholas went about the parish, which she understanding shut her doores against him, and would not suffer him to come within her house. Then Doctor Mallet, hearing thereof (and being then maister of Saint Katherin's[a]) the next day came to her with xx. at his taile, thinking belike to fray her, and asked why she would not the night before let in Saint Nicholas, and receive his blessing, &c. To whom she answered thus, 'Sir, I knowe no Saint Nicholas (said she) that came hither.' 'Yes (quoth Mallet), here was one that represented Saint Nicholas.' 'In deede, Sir (saide she), here was one that is my neighboures childe, but not Saint Nicholas, for Saint Nicholas is in heaven. I was afraide of them that came with him to have had my purse cutte by them, for I have heard of men robbed by Saint Nicholas' clearkes,' &c. So Mallet, perceiving that nothing could be gotten at her hands, went his way as he came, and she for that time so escaped."[b]

"With the Catholic liturgy," says Warton, "all the pageantries of popery were restored to their ancient splendour by Queen Mary. Among others, the procession of the boy-bishop was too popular a mummery to be forgotten. In the preceding reign of Edward the Sixth, Hugh Rhodes, one of the Gentlemen of the Royal Chapel, published an English poem with the title "The Boke of Nurture, for men servants and children, or for the governaunce of youth, with *Stans puer ad Mensam.*" In the following reign of

[a] *From a subsequent passage it appears that Mrs. Crockhay's brother married Dr. Mallet's sister. Mallet became Dean of Lincoln.*

[b] *Foxe, edit. 1843-9, p. 1941.*

Mary the same poet printed a poem consisting of thirty-six octave stanzas, entitled "The song of the Chyld-Bysshope, as it was songe before the Queenes Majestie in her privie chamber at her manour of Saynt James in the ffeeldes on Saynt Nicholas day and Innocents' day this yeare now present, by the Chylde-Bysshope of Poules churche with his company. Londini, in ædibus Johannis Cawood, typographi reginæ, 1555. Cum privilegio, &c." No copy of this curious poem is now known, although it is certain that Warton had seen it, for he thus describes it: "As to the song itself, it is a fulsome panegyric on the Queen's devotion, in which she is compared to Judith, Esther, the Queen of Sheba, and the Virgin Mary."[a]

The practice of electing a boy-bishop was common in colleges,[b] grammar-schools, and parish churches. As patron of scholars, St. Nicholas had a double feast at Eton College, where, in Catholic times, the scholars to avoid interfering, as it would seem, with the boy-bishop on St. Nicholas's day, elected their boy-bishop on St. Hugh's day, in November. Brand, indeed, was of opinion that the anniversary *Montem* of Eton is merely a corruption of the procession of the boy-bishop and his companions; the scholars, being prevented by the edict of Henry VIII. from continuing that ceremony, gave a new face to their festivity, and began their pastime at soldiers, and elected a captain. Even within the memory of persons living in 1777, when Brand wrote, the *Montem* was kept a little before Christmas, although subsequently held on Whit Tuesday.

"The boy-bishop had a set of pontificals provided for him. St.

[a] *History of English Poetry*, edit. 1840, iii. 265.

[b] At Magdalen College, Oxford, "on the eve of St. Nicholas, an entertainment at the expense of the College was served up to the choristers in the hall, at which the chaplains and clerks were also present, and occasionally the fellows. The boy-bishop was then chosen, and presented with gloves, &c. as marks of dignity, for which payments occur in the *libri computi* of the College."—Millard's *Historical Notices of the office of Choristers*, 1848, p. 50.

Paul's, London, had its 'una mitra alba cum flosculis breudatis—ad opus episcopi parvulorum—baculus ad usum episcopi parvulorum;' York Minster, too, its 'una capa de tissue pro episcopo puerorum;' Lincoln Cathedral, a cope of red velvet, ordained for the barn-bishop; All Souls College, Oxford, 'j. chem (ches?) j. cap. et mitra pro episcopo Nicholao;' St. Mary's Church, Sandwich, 'a lytyll chesebyll for Seynt Nicholas bysschop.' For the boy-bishop's attendants capes were also made; and York had no fewer than 'novem capæ pro pueris.'"*

Concerning vestments, jewels, &c., used by the boy-bishop and his companions, we have many curious notices handed down to us, some few of which we have placed together.

A parchment roll of the fifteenth century, printed in the notes to the Northumberland Household Book, gives us the following inventory.

"*Contenta de Ornamentis Episcopi Puerorum.*

"Imprimis, i myter, well garneshed with perle and precious stones, with nowches of silver, and gilt before and behind.

"Item, iiij rynges of silver and gilt, with four redde precious stones in them.

"Item, i pontifical with silver and gilt, with a blew stone in hytt.

"Item, i owche broken, silver and gilt, with iiij precius stones, and a perle in the myddes.

"Item, a crosse, with a staf of coper and gilt, with the ymage of St. Nicolas in the myddes.

"Item, i vesture, redde, with lyons of silver, with brydds [birds] of gold in the orferes [borders] of the same.

"Item, i albe to the same with starres in the paro.

* Dr. Rock's *Church of our Fathers*, iii. part ii. p. 217, where authorities are quoted.

"Item, i white cope, stayned with tristells and orferes [of] redde sylkes, with does of gold, and whytt napkins about ther necks.

"Item, iiij copes [of] blue sylk, with red orferes, trayled with whitt braunchis and flowres.

"Item, i steyned cloth of the ymage of St. Nycholas.

"Item, i tabard of skarlet, and a hodde thereto, lyned with whitt sylk.

"Item, a hode of skarlett, lyned with blue sylk."

In the will of Thomas Rotheram, Archbishop of York, dated in 1481, is a bequest to the College of that place of a mitre of cloth of gold with two silver enamelled "knoppes" to be worn by the "*Barnes-Bishop.*" This is, perhaps, the same mitre which is named in the inventory of jewels and valuables belonging to the Cathedral of York, in Dugdale's Monasticon. —"Item una Mitra parva cum *Petris* pro Episcopo Puerorum." The tarnished silver knobs seem to have been mistaken for stones.[a]

In a MS. inventory of vestments, &c., committed to the care of the Sacristan of Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1495, are, "*pro pueris*," tunicles, red and white and crimson, with orfreys [borders] of damask and velvet, one set of albs of blue damask, and two with apparels of red silk; and, lastly, a banner of St. Nicholas, the patron of children.[b]

In the Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Mary-at-Hill, London, 10 Henry VI., mention is made of "two children's copes, also a myter of cloth of gold set with stones." Under 1549 we have in the same accounts, "For 12 oz. silver, being clasps of books and the

[a] Hampson's *Medii Ævi Kalendarium*, i. 80. See also Hearne's *Liber Niger Scaccarii*, 1728, ii. 674, 686.

[b] Millard's *Historical Notices of the office of Choristers*, 1848, p. 49.

bishop's mitre, at v s. viij d. per oz., vj l. xvj s. j d." These last were sold. In the Inventory of Church Goods belonging to the same parish, at the same time, we have, "Item, a mitre for a bishop at St. Nicholas-tyde, garnished with silver and aneyld, and perle and counterfeit stone." Another extract from the same accounts, in 1554, has this entry, "Paid for makying the bishop's myter, with stuff and lace that went to it, iij s. Paid for a boke for Nicholas, viij d." This was the restoration of the ceremony under Queen Mary.[a]

Among the inventories of Westminster Abbey[b] is "The vj myter of Seynt Nycholas bysshoppe, the grounde therof of whyte sylk, garnysshed complete with ffloures, gret and small, of sylver and gylte, and stones complete in them, with the scripture, Ora pro nobis Sancte Nicholai, embrodered theron in perll, the sydes sylver and gylt, and the toppys of sylver and gylt, and enamelyd with ij labelles of the same, and garnysshed in lyk maner, and with viij long bells of sylver and gylt, weying all together xxiij unces." And among the *kanapys* is the following, "a gret blewe clothe with Kyngs on horsse-bake for Saynt Nicholas cheyre."[c]

The question of money struck for the boy-bishop—"St. Nicholas' pence"—is thus summed up in a MS. note by Mr. Nichols: "The only place in this country where I have detected any evidences of such imitative coinage is Bury St. Edmund's. In the church of St. Mary in that town there was a Guild of St. Nicholas; and in the years 1842-3, during the removal of the priests' stalls from the chancel-aisles to the choir of that church, a number of leaden pieces, formed in imitation of money, were discovered. Some were published in the Numismatic Chronicle, and others in the Journal of the Archæological Association; and

[a] Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, i. 424, edit. 1849, where authorities are quoted.
[b] London and Middlesex Arch. Soc. iv. 318. [c] Ibid. 328.

as many as a dozen varieties, some of the size of groats and others of pennies, are described in 'An Architectural and Historical Account of the Church of St. Mary, Bury St. Edmund's. By Samuel Tymms, F.S.A., 1854.' 4to. pp. 62—67. Mr. Roach Smith was disposed to regard these tokens as 'medals of presence,' struck to be given to those who at particular seasons assisted at particular services; but Mr. Daniel H. Haigh thought they were undoubtedly relics commemorative of the solemnity of the boy-bishop. He remarked that they were evident imitations of the groats and pennies of Henry VII. and his predecessors; and, as the coinage of St. Edmundsbury did not differ from that of the royal mints, they may be presumed to have followed the general type of the Bury coinage. He adds the following reasons for their not possessing the variety of devices which marks the continental *monnaies des Evêques des Innocens.*

"The money of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishop of Durham, and the Abbot of Reading, was distinguished from that of our Edwards, Henries, and Richards, by a simple mint-mark only. The Abbot of St. Edmundsbury, in imitation of whose right of coinage these tokens were probably issued, is not known to have placed any distinguishing mark upon his coins. In France, where almost every prelate and baron was allowed to strike money in his own name, we find the names of the Bishops of Innocents, and of Fools, similarly commemorated upon their pseudo-coinage. In England, on the contrary, where all the current coin of the realm was impressed with 'the image and superscription' of the reigning King, and where also the ceremony of the boy-bishop was more exclusively a religious ceremony, the name of St. Nicholas appears on the tokens issued in commemoration of this festival, and that of the infant prelate is lost.

"It was possibly the practice to sink a new die each year for this

coinage, which will account for the varieties of type that are found; and it may have been from design, rather than accident, that some were thrown behind the stalls of the church.

"There are, however, other similar tokens, which we can scarcely appropriate to the festival of the boy-bishop, though they may have been struck for other festivals of a similar character. One bears a mitred head between the letters S and M, with the legend SANCTE MARTINE ORA PRO, and on the reverse a shield charged with a chevron between them, and the legend GRATIA DEI SVM ADSVM. See also in Rigollot's work, p. 96, SANCTE AUGUSTINE ORA PRO NOBIS.

"With respect to Mr. Roach Smith's suggestion that these were commemorative 'medals of presence,' it is to be remembered that the pilgrims' tokens, of which so many have been recovered in recent reseaches, were usually fastened on the cap or garment, and only figured on one side. These tokens, on the contrary, are evidently struck in imitation of money, and were, therefore, probably intended to be so regarded, at least in sport."

As regards the diminutive effigy in Salisbury Cathedral (mentioned by Gregory and Hall), there is considerable doubt as to its being to the memory of a boy-bishop. The following note by the late Mr. J. G. Nichols is interesting, and throws some light upon this obscure subject. "In the third volume of the Archæological Journal, 1846, will be found an essay, by W. S. Walford, Esq., F.S.A., on 'The cross-legged effigy at Horsted Keynes, Sussex; with some remarks on early effigies of diminutive dimensions.' Mr. Walford remarks (p. 237), that 'Diminutive effigies, in which the proportions are those of a man, are sometimes supposed to represent children, but I think without good reason. An effigy is, *prima facie*, to be considered as representing that, to which, having a regard to the costume and general appearance, it bears most resemblance, irre-

spectively of its size; for it is unreasonable from size alone to infer that it was intended for a full-grown person. Thus, a small effigy, apparently of a knight or priest, is to be taken as representing an adult; for till a certain age knighthood and priests' orders were not usually conferred; and we have no reason *a priori* to expect to meet with an effigy of a child attired as a knight or priest.' Mr. Walford afterwards adds, 'The story of the boy-bishop at Salisbury Cathedral needs confirmation.'

"In many cases there is no doubt the diminutive effigy was placed *where the heart of the deceased was deposited*, and one of the full size where the body was interred. Indeed it is not improbable that this may have been the meaning of all such diminutive effigies; for Mr. Walford further states 'I have not been able to meet with any well-authenticated case of a diminutive effigy placed over the grave of an adult.' But there are ascertained cases of such effigies commemorating the interment of a heart; of which the following may be particularised:

"Blanche (d'Artois) dowager Queen of Navarre, wife of Edmond Earl of Lancaster (ob. 1302), a figure two feet long, now in the Cathedral of St. Denis, brought from the conventual church of the minoresses at Nogent l'Artault in Champagne, founded by her; her body being buried in Paris."

"At Tenbury in Gloucestershire, a cross-legged effigy in mailed armour, four feet long, holding a heart."

"At Ayot St. Lawrence, Herts, effigy two feet three inches long, also formerly holding a heart, now broken.

"I may also mention a small effigy holding a heart which my father bought in 1842 from the garden of the lodge in the Green Park, Westminster, when that house was removed (its original locality not ascertained), and which after his death I gave to the British Museum."

The two sermons following this Introduction are perhaps the sole existing relics in the English language of a species of literary composition once as familiar as our own annual sermons for benefit clubs, or those for the sons of the clergy. At a time when preaching was rare, except in large churches, the sermon delivered by the boy-bishop on the Feast of the Holy Innocents, commonly called Childermas day, was one of regular rotation, and countenanced by due authority. Modern writers have usually regarded the festival of this personage, and all his proceedings, as a mere revel or mummery, without any redeeming features. The contemporary sentiment upon the subject was apparently otherwise. The ancient custom was not only allowed and continued by the founders of Winchester and Eton, but when Dean Colet dictated the laws for his grammar-school, in the year 1512, he directed that his scholars should on every Childermas day hear the child-bishop's sermon in Paul's, and afterwards, attending the high mass, offer, each of them, one penny to the child-bishop.[a]

Commenting upon this, Warton, in his History of English Poetry, considered it "surprising that Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, a friend to the purity of religion, and who had the good sense and resolution to censure the superstitions and fopperies of Popery in his public sermons, should countenance this idle farce of the boy-bishop in the statutes of his school at St. Paul's, which he founded with the view of establishing the education of youth on a more rational and liberal plan than had yet been known."

[a] "All these children shall every Childermas daye come to Paull's churche, and here the childe-bishoppes sermon, and after be at highe masse, so each of them offre a j d. to the childe-bishopp, and with the maisters and surveyours of the scoole. In generall processions, when they be warnyde, theye shall go tweyne and tweyne togither soberly, and not synge ou:e, but saye devoutly, tweyne and tweyne, vij salmes wit latynye."—MS. copy of the Statutes of St. Paul's School, Additional MS. No. 6274, Brit. Mus.

To all that can be said in the praise of Colet there are few that will be inclined to object. As the greatest friend upon English soil of the greatest foreigner that visited England in his time, the Dean of St. Paul's is emphatically the *laudatus a laudate.*[a] Acknowledging then both his piety and his good sense, it is only reasonable to conclude that, after having occupied the Deanery of St. Paul's for seven years, Colet had deliberately formed an opinion in favour of the boy-bishop's sermon, as being productive of certain beneficial effects upon its hearers; at any rate as a means of turning to some good account the proceedings of a festival of which the remainder was devoted to pageantry, revelry, and the collection of a tax upon the charity and good nature of the community.

We may conclude that the Church in this matter, as in so many others in which she had to withstand the inveterate habits and propensities of human nature, endeavoured to control and modify doings which she could not utterly prohibit or abolish. In limiting the revelry of clerks and ecclesiastics to the younger members, or at least to giving to the children the apparent conduct and management of the sports most allowable to their period of life, one attempted to set bounds to a festivity, which with those of greater growth was apt to run into vicious excess; and by the collation or sermon, which she placed in the mouth of the boy-bishop, it was her aim to season the indulgence with some ingredients of instruction and admonition.

The sermon at St. Paul's appears to have been usually prepared by the almoner of that church; and the same practice was probably established elswhere.[b] William de Tolleshunte, almoner of St.

[a] The great foreigner was of course Erasmus. A sermon from his pen, "Concio de puero Jesu," spoken by a boy of St. Paul's School, is still extant. It is printed in the Rotterdam edition of Erasmus's works, folio, 1704.

[b] Brayley rightly conjectures, as to the "chylde-byshop's sermons," that "probably these orations, though affectedly childish, were composed by the more aged members of the Church."—London and Middlesex, ii. 229.

Paul's, in his will, made in 1329, bequeathed several books to remain in the almonry for ever, "all the quires of sermons of the Feasts of the Holy Innocents which the boy-bishops were wont to preach in my time." These have probably long since perished, nor have we heard of any similar productions being extant among the manuscripts of our cathedral churches.

It would be no difficult task to enumerate the names of many eminent men who commenced life as choristers. Among popes we have Sergius I., Sergius II., Gregory II., Stephen III., and Paul I.; among English saints, Wulstan, Bishop of Peterborough; among the first choir of Durham, Eata, Bishop of Lindisfarn; and from the choristers of Magdalen College, Oxford (of whom a nearly perfect list is preserved from 1546 to the present time), four bishops: Cooper, Bickley, Nicholson, and Hopkins; Pierce, afterwards President of the College; and Archdeacon Todd, the editor of Milton.[a] After all something may be said in favour of the custom we have endeavoured to describe. And, perhaps, Strype was not far wrong when he concludes "that it gave a spirit to the children, and the hopes that they might one time or other attain to the real mitre made them mind their books." The spirit of emulation has always had a beneficial effect upon youth. Let us look then kindly upon that ancient ceremony which has been denounced as "the foolish mummery of ignorant monks."

[a] See the Rev. J. E. Millard's *Historical Notices of the office of Choristers.* 12mo. 1848.

# TWO SERMONS

PREACHED BY

# THE BOY BISHOP.

# PREFACE.

Only two sermons in English preached by boy-bishops have been discovered, which follow in this volume. The former of these sermons was printed at least twice, shortly after its composition, but only one copy of each edition is known to be still in existence.

The earlier is from the press of Wynkyn de Worde, and has at the end the device of his master, Caxton. This was unknown to Ames and Herbert, but is described in Dr. Dibdin's *Typographical Antiquities*, ii. 379, from the copy which belonged to Richard Heber. It appears in the sale catalogue of the Heber Library, Part vi., lot 567, and is now reprinted from the same exemplar, through the kindness of the Rev. J. Fuller Russell, its present possessor.

The title consists of only these two lines placed at the head of a blank page—

**En die Innocencium Sermo pro Episcopo puerorum.**

The whole tract comprises twelve leaves, of which the second, third, and fourth, have the signatures a ij, a iij, a iiij; and the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth, b, b ij, b iij, b iiij. On the reverse of this last signature the sermon ends; and a list of the indulgences of Pope John XXII. succeeds. These occupy the remainder of two pages and a half. A leaf with the print of the Crucifixion—the same as given by Caxton in the *Golden Legend*, 1493—concludes the tract.

According to Dr. Dibdin this sermon "must have been printed before the year 1496, as the soul of Bishop Kemp is prayed for in it, who died in 1489; and his successor Hill in 1495 or 1496."

The second copy of this sermon, preserved in the Library of the British Museum, has no printer's name or date, but it is evidently subsequent to the time of Wynkyn de Worde. It has no variation except differences of spelling, which are as numerous as is often found in black-letter chronicles and other books of that era. On the whole, the earlier edition, according to Mr. Nichols, is to be preferred. Typographical misprints occur in both editions, particularly in the Latin. These the Editor has silently corrected.

The second sermon is now printed for the first time. It is from the Cotton MS. Vespasian A. xxv. in the British Museum. It was written in 1558, and preached in Gloucester Cathedral in the same year. Of the author, Richard Ramsey, we know but little. From Wood's *Fasti* (edit. Bliss, i. 110), we learn that Richard Ramsey was admitted Bachelor in Divinity in 1539. He furthermore says "Richard Hallyny, *alias* Ramsey, S.T.P., was admitted Vicar of Wellan in Somersetshire, 1546, and had one or more dignities in the church;" one of these dignities being, according to Archdeacon Furney, the sixth prebendal stall at Gloucester. Fosbroke (*History of Gloucester*, p. 114) tells us that Richard Ramsey, *alias* Hawley, M.A., was installed Rector of Shenington, co. Gloucester, in 1555, and was deprived in 1559." It is clear from the sermon that the author was of the old religion.

Of John Stubs, "Querester"—the boy-bishop who "pronounced" the sermon—we know nothing. It has been conjectured that he was John Stubbes, the author of "The Discoverie of a Gaping Gulff," who suffered the loss of his right hand in 1579 for his seditious writings; but this is unlikely. This old worthy was born in or about 1543, and matriculated as a pensioner of Trinity College, Cambridge, November 12, 1555, being then of immature age. The John Stubs who delivered the boy-bishop's sermon in Gloucester Cathedral in 1558 has yet to be identified.

EDWARD F. RIMBAULT.

## IN DIE INNOCENCIUM
## SERMO PRO EPISCOPO PUERORUM.

*Laudate Pueri Dominum.*

PSALMO CENTESIMO XII° et pro hujus collacionis fundamento.

"PRAYSE ye childerne almyghty God," as the Phylosophre[a] sayth in dyverse places. All those thynges that have the habyte of parfyght cognycyon may move themself and conveye themself to theyr ende, as a beest havynge sensyble knowlege, and man more parfyghter, bothe sensyble and intellygyble, may move themself whether they wyll, and so conveye al theyr accyons and dedes to theyr naturall ende; but *carencia cognicione*, those thynges that lacke cognycyon, have no mocyon of themself, nother be dyrected to theyr ende without the helpe of an other. As an arowe of hymself can not be movyd ne dyrected unto the prycke without the redy conveyaunce of hym that shoteth, thrugh whom dyrectly he attayneth his ende and is shotte to the prycke.

In as moche thenne as mankynde is ordeyned unto an ende ferre excedynge the lymytes of nature, as it is wryten by the Holy Ghost in Ysay lxiiij°, *Oculus non vidit, Deus, absque te quæ preparasti exspectantibus te;* et prima ad Corintheos secundo—*Oculus non vidit, nec aures audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit quæ preparavit Deus diligentibus illum.* "The eye of a man hath not seen, nother his eeres herde, nother it can not be thought in his herte, thende that Almyghty God hath ordened for them that lovyth hym." To this ende man, havynge the use of reason and parfyte knowlege, is dyrected

[a] *Qu. an error for* the Psalmist?

by his free wyll as by a pryncypall in hymself to move hym to God. And also by fayth as a pryncypall above naturall knowlege, without the whiche it is impossyble to plese God and attayne to the ende of grace in this present lyf and glory in heven, as it is wreten, *Sine fide impossibile est placere Deo.* Whyle it is so that man endowed with use of reason, havynge naturall knowlege and free, maye not suffycyently dyrect hymself to the ende that God hath ordeyned to without the helpe of fayth, as it is wryten, Jheremiæ iiij°, *Non est enim hominis vincere, neque viri est ut ambuleter et dirigat gressus ejus.* It is not in mannes power for to overcome vyce of hymself, nother for to walke parfyghtly and dyrecte his gooynge in the lawe of God, but by his grace assystente. Moche more those that bene chylderne for tendernesse of age and lacke of knowlege can not dyrect theyr dedes convenyentely to that ende without specyall helpe of God. In token herof childerne newely sette to scole, lackynge the use of reason and the habyte of cognycyon, have a recourse to Goddes dyreccyon, fyrste lernynge this (*Cristis Crosse be my spede*), and so begynnyth the A B. C. In wytnesse of defawte of this perfeccion in knowlege, Pyctagoras, to the dyreccyon of Chylderne, he founde fyrste this letter in the A. B. C. ȳ, the whyche as Ysider [a] sayth *Ethimologis* is formyd and made after the symylytude of mannes lyfe, for this letter ȳ is made of two lynes; one is a right lyne, the other is half ryght and half crokyd. And soo verely the Infant age of a childe is ryght neyther dysposed to vertue neyther to vyce, as the Phylosophre sayth, *Tanquam tabula nuda in qua nichil depingitur.* But the seconde age is called *Adolescencia*, and hath two lynes, a ryght and a crokyd, sygnefyenge the dysposycion that he hath thenne to vyce and thenne to vertue. In the whiche age is the brekynge of every chylde to goodnes or to lewdenes. Therfore that age is moost uncertayn in knowlege, as Salomon sayth, Proverbior. xxx°, *Tria sunt michi difficilia ad cognoscendum, et quartum penitus ignoro. Viam navis in medio maris, et viam viri in adolescencia.* "Thre thynges (sayth Salomon) bene

[Children newly set to school.]

[The A. B. C.]

[The letter Y.]

[Infancy.]

[Adolescence.]

[a] Originum, sive Ethymologiarum libri xx., one of the works of Saint Isidorus Hispalensis, bishop of Seville, 601—636.

harde to me to knowe, and the fourth utterly I knowe not. The flyghte of the egle in the ayer; The waye of the serpent on the erthe;[a] The sayllyng of a shyppe in the see; But the fourth and moost hardest is to understande the waye of a man in his growynge age." Tho children thenne the whiche lacke dyscrecyon, use of reason, and parfyght cognycyon, and yet attayne to the ende that is prepared for mannes blysse, as thyse blessyd Innocentes whoos solempnyte we halowe this daye (*Qui non loquendo sed moriendo confessi sunt*) may moost in a specyall laude that gloryous Lorde (*sequentes Agnum quocumque ierit*,) to whom by our Moder Holy Chirche in tytle of tryumphe may contynually be applyed the wordes of my tyme[b] (*Laudate, pueri, Dominum*), ye chosen chylderne of God, lackynge the use of cognycyon and yet gloryfyed by your passyon in lyfe everlastynge, prayse ye God. [The Innocents.]

In the begynnynge thenne of this symple exhortacyon, that I a chylde, wantynge the habyte of connynge, maye be dyrected by hym that gave to that childe Danyell *Sermonem rectum et Spiritum Deorum*, somwhat to say to his laude and praysynge, and to alle pure chylderne that bene here present edifyenge, we shall atte this tyme devoutly make our prayers.

In the whiche prayers I recommende unto your devocyons the welfare of all Chrysts chirche; our holy fader the Pope with alle the Clergye, my Lorde of Caunterbury, and the ryghte reverende fader and worshypfull lorde my broder Bysshopp of London your dyocesan, also for my worshypfull broder [the] Deane of this cathedrall chirche, wytn all resydensaryes and prebendaryes of the same. And moost intyerly I praye you to have myself in your specyal devocyon, so that I may contynue in this degree that I now stande, and never more herafter to be vexed with Jerom's vysyon, the whiche is wryten *Jeremiæ primo:* whan the good Lorde askyd of Jeremye, *Quid tu vides, Jeremia?* he answered and sayd *Virgam vigilantem ego video*, "A waken rodde I see," sayd Jeremye. Truely thys waken rodde oftentymes hath troubled me in my childehode, that *lumbi mei im-* [Bidding Prayer.] [Jeremiah's waking rod.]

[a] These two clauses are deficient in the Latin. [b] *i. e.* theme (or text).

*pleti sunt illusionibus, et non est sanitas in carne mea; afflictus sum et humiliatus sum nimis.* And therfor, though I be now in hye dygnyte, yet whan I see other here my mayster that was thenne, *operuit confusio faciem meam; a voce contremuerunt labia mea.* As Nero the Emperour wold to his mayster Seneca,[a] the same wysshe I wold to my mayster I love soo well. And for theyr true dylygence that all my maysters the whiche taughte me ony connynge in my youthe gave to me, I wolde they were promytted[b] to be perpetuall felowes and collegeners of that famouse college of the Kynges foundacyon in Southwerke that men calle the Kynges Benche. Gretter worshypp I cannot wysshe than for to sytte in the Kynges owne Benche. And for by cause charyte is parfyght yf it be extendyd as well to the ende of the lyf as it is the lyf self, I wolde they sholde ende ther lyf in that holy waye the whyche often tymes I radde whan that I was Querester, in the Marteloge of Poules, where many holy bodyes deyed, callyd in Latyn *Via Tiburtina:* in Englysshe asmoche to saye as the highe waye to Tyburne. In this behalf ye shall praye specyally for all prelates that cometh to theyr dygnytee as I dyde; for, thanked be God, wythout conspyracy, lordshyp, or symony I was sette in thys degree; for verely promocyon in ony realme hadde *per demonum Simonem et principem*[c] hath and shall brynge Crystys chirche *in confusionem dampnabilem.*

[The King's Bench.]

[The highway to Tyburn.]

[He was preferred without conspiracy, lordship, or simony.]

In the seconde partye ye shall praye for the wele and peas of all Crysten reames, specyally for the reame of Englonde, Our soverayne lorde the Kyng, Our soverayne lady the Quene, My lorde the Prynce, My lady the Kynges Moder, My lorde her Husbonde, with all the Lordes of the Realme; The welfare of this Cyte, for my ryght worshypful broder and lover the Mayer, with all the Aldermen and Shyrefs.

[Souls in purgatory.]

In the thyrde partye, all the soules lyenge in the paynes of Purgatory; specyally for the soule of the reverende fader my

[a] That he should make away with himself. This and the following passages are confirmatory of other accounts that we have of the severe discipline then exercised in schools.

[b] *i.e.* promoted.

[c] So in the original.

lorde Thomas Kempe late Bysshop, and for the soules of all Benefactours of thys chirche of Poules, wyth all Crysten soules, for the whiche and for the entent premysed I praye you devoutly saye a Pater Noster and an Ave. [Bishop Kempe].

*Laudate Pueri Dominum* (ut supra).

In as moche as Cryste sayth in the Gospell, *Sinite parvulos venire ad me, quia talium est regnum Celorum* (Mathei xix°.) "Suffre ye childerne to come to me, for of suche the kyngdom of heven is fulfylled," by whom, after saynt Austyn (*in originali, ubi thema*),[a] it is not oonly understonde those that bene chylderne of age, but those that bene chylderne pure in clennesse from synne and malyce. As the holy appostle saynt Poule sayth, *Nolite effici pueri sensibus, malicia autem parvuli estote* (prima ad Corintheos xiiij°) "Be ye not chylderne in your wyttes; but from all synne and malyce be ye chylderne in clennesse." And in this fourme alle maner of people and al maner of ages in clennesse of lyf ought to be pure as childerne, to whom generally may I saye *Laudate, pueri, Dominum; Laudate, pueri, Dominum in infantia; laudate Dominum in adolescentia; laudate Dominum in perseverante etate humana*,—"Prayse, ye childerne, your God in your infant age; Prayse ye hym in your growynge age; And prayse ye hym perseverauntly (*usque in senectum et senium*) in your mannes age." And in thyse thre praysynge of thre ages shall stande the processe of this symple Collacyon.

Thyse thre ages after the consceyte of the appostle (*ad Galathas* and *ad Romanos*) is lykened to the thre lawes,—that is to saye—to the Lawe of Kynde, the Lawe Wryten, and the Lawe of Grace. [Three ages likened to the three Laws.]

The first age is likenyd unto the Lawe of Kynde. A childe fyrste whan he is in his infant age is not constreyned unto no lawes; he is not corrected nother beten; and there is no defaute layde unto hym, but utterly he is lefte unto the lawe of kynde. Do he what somever he wyll, no man doth blame hym. Morally the state of man inmedyatly after synne was verely the state of childehode [Infancy to the Law of Kind.]

[a] A reference to Saint Augustine's Commentary on the Gospel of St. Matthew, where the text (*thema*) occurs.

and infans havinge no nouryce. Whan that man was utterly left without ony expressyd lawe, havynge no mayster, to his owne naturall inclynacyon as to his lawe, there was no lawe of God newe put to hym. Many defawtes dyde he, and to many inconvenyences he ranne. Correccyon was there none, but utter destruccyon, as Noes floode, destroyenge all infantes of mankynde save viij. persones (*Genesis* vij°.) The destruccyon of Sodome and of Gomor with other cytees (*Genesis* xix°.) And lyke wyse as a childe, havynge noo nouryce nor guyder deputed to hym, may as well renne in to the fyre or water as to go besyde, soo verely in the fyrste age of man, in the lawe of kynde, a man beynge wythout a nouryce or guyder, lefte to hys naturall guydynge, mysusyd soo ferre hymselfe, that he ranne to water where he was utterly destroyed as I sayde before, save Noes housholde, and also to the fyre, where a grete parte was destroyed. And verely, Maysters, yf we clerely consydre our lyf and state that we stande in now in thyse dayes, I fere me we shall fynde ourself soo ferre guyded by our sensuall nature, that we shall nede to be purefyed to our streyte correccyon wyth a streyte afflyccyon, as the water or the fyre. And all for lacke of our maysters and nouryces all wrapped in neclygence taketh none attendaunce to us. Our maysters and nouryces spyrytuall, *Querentes quæ sua sunt et non quæ Jhesu Christi, sunt canes muti non valentes latrare* (Ysaye lvi°.) Our temporall rulers *Infideles, socii furum, diligunt munera, sequuntur retribuciones; pupillo non judicant, causa viduæ non ingreditur ad eos.* (Ysaye i°.) This neclygence in our nouryces spyrytuall and temporall causeth in the Chirche insolent lyf, seculer conversacyon (*In habitu interiori et exteriori, ut qualis populus talis sit et sacerdos.*) In the temporalte it causeth that manslaughter is not sette by; lechery is pleysure; robbery and dysceyte is called chevesaunce; extorcyon lordshyp, power; falshede, a fete of wytte; usury counted no synne. *Quomodo facta est meretrix civitas fidelis, plena judicii. Justicia habitavit in ea, nunc autem homicidæ. Argentum tuum versum est in scoriam. Vinum tuum mixtum est aqua.* (Ysaye i°.) A merveyllous chaunge! somtyme our reame was prosperous,

[Negligence of Spiritual rulers.]

[And of Temporal.]

[Prevalent sins.]

now it is in mysery; somtyme Ryghtwysnesse was the cheyf ruler, now Falshede is quarter-mayster; somtyme was inhabytaunt Peas, Love, and Charyte, now Wrathe and Manslaughter and false Dyssymulacyon; somtyme Trouth was mayster of our marchauntes, (*nunc vero usura et dolus*). And somtyme Trouth stode upryght, now he is fallen. Good men have inserchyd the strete where he felle; some sayde he fell in Lombarde Strete, some sayde in Buklarsbury. And whan it was utterly knowe he was fallen in every strete (*Veritas corruit in plateis*), the cause is none other but we lacke our maysters and guyders that sholde streytly attende in this Infant age of condycyon that we bene in.

[The fall of Truth.]

[Lombard Street; Bucklersbury.]

Whan that infant age is ended, the fader provydeth for hys childe for a mayster, the whyche gyveth instruccyon in small doctrynes, as in hys Donate, Partes of reason, and suche other,[a] the whiche mayster comunely is called *Pedagogus* in Latyne. This mayster gevyth commaundementes to the childe in his growynge age. And he breke them he is sharpely correctyd. There is no fawte that he doth but he is punysshed. Somtyme he wryngeth hym by the eeres. Sometyme he geveth hym a strype on the honde wyth the ferell. Some tyme beteth hym sharpelywith the rodde. And so with commaundementes and sharpe correccyon he geveth hym full instruccyon in the lawer scyence.[b] So in lyke manere after the lawe of kynde. As mankynde grewe in age almyghty God provyded to man an enfourmer[c] that was called Moyses, the whiche sholde teche man his pryncypalles and small and rude doctrynes. And so the olde lawe taught to man his Donate and Partes of reason. Also he taught hym how he sholde gyve to God his partes: the whyche were sacrefyces, oblacyons and tythes justely and truely to be gyven to God—as it is wryten Ecclesiasticis xxxv°.) *Da Altissimo secundum Donatum ejus.* That what thou sholdest gyve

[Punishments of the schoolmaster.]

[Moses.]

[Tithes, &c.]

[a] The Grammar of Ælias Donatus was one of the earliest books placed in the hands of boys.

[b] The lower sciences.

[c] *Informator* was a usual Latin word for a schoolmaster.

[Alms.] also to thy neyghbour and broder his partes, that is to saye, almes dedes frely wythout grutchynge, lenynge[a] of thy good without ony trust or hope of usury, and forgevynge thy neyghbour yf he be in necessyte without trouble for Goddes sake; and lyke wyse as the people under Moyses growynge in childehode, thyse thynges were taught by the whiche specyally Goddes lawe and praysynge was encreaced, so in our growyng age in vertue that gode Lorde *(cujus laus est in ecclesia sanctorum)* canne not be better praysed, than yf we gyve unto hym justly and truely his Donat, to hym oblacyons, sacrefyces, and tythes. To our neyghbour mercyfully geve oure almesse, and pyteuously forgyve offences and dettes to theym that bene nedy and maye not paye. Thyse bene the thynges that longeth to Goddes praysynge in mankyndes childehode, as is wryten of Thoby (Thobie primo,) *Hæc et his similia puerulus secundum legem observabat.* In Moyses tyme streyte commaundementes were gyven to Man, streyte punysshmentes and sharpe correccyons; they were taken by the eere streytly, whan it commaunded in the Lawe *aurem pro aure, dentem pro dente*, without ony mercy. He that gadred styckes on the Sabot daye was stoned unto the dethe. And for one grutched ayenst theyr mayster Moyses, the whiche was but *Pedagogus*, the chosen woman moost accepte, Maria, Aaron's sister, was smytten of God with the infyrmyte of leprehode. How ofte tymes breke we our holy daye! How oft tymes grutche we ayenst our maysters, not holdynge us content with noo kynge, nother prynce, archebysshopp, nor bysshopp; beynge as varyaunt as the mone! And yet the good Lorde spareth us. The old lawe was harde to observe; in the whiche tyme God entreatyd mankynde after his wrath and punysshement. Wherfore he was callyd *Deus ulcionum*, for whoos delyver mercy cryed to almyghty God to sende mankinde a newe mayster that sholde entreate hym and teche more curtously; and it lyked hym, *Non ex operibus justiciæ quæ fecimus nos, sed secundum suam misericordiam*, (Ad Titum iij°.) to come downe hymself and toke on hym oure mortallyte, gave us a newe lawe,

[Severity of the law of Moses.]

[The Old Law.]

[The New Law.]

[a] *i. e.* lending.

wold suffre none but hymselfe to be oure mayster; where with all love and benygnyte, without sharpnesse, he taught us noo rude nother grose erthly doctrynes, as they were taughte in the olde lawe; but he taughte us subtyll thynges, hevenly dyvynytee, oure glory and oure blysse (*Docebat eos de regno Dei*). And as longe as we bene in the scole of mercyfull benygnytee and gentylnesse, though we doo fawtes, purposynge to amende, soo longe he abydeth us pacyently, holdynge hymself content. For by cause we bene now in mannes state and parfyght age with oure owne correccyon (*Propterea expectat Deus ut misereatur vestri* (Ysaye tricesimo.) And yf we dyfferre and wyll not correcte our selfe here in the scole of mercy, full grevously and moost sharply shall we abyde the swerde of correccyon of his ryghtwysnesse, as dayly by experyence we maye fele. Therfore, in the thre ages of oure lyfe lette us besye ourselfe to prayse God wyth pure childerne, amendynge our lyfe by dedes of penaunce and vertuouse dedes usynge, exhortynge you with the wordes of my tyme [a]—*Laudate, pueri, Dominum.*

The fourme and the maner how that we sholde worshyp and love almyghty God in the thre Ages, that is to saye, in Childehode, Yongthe, and Manhode, is shewed to us by a prety conceyte of oure comyn Kalender in every boke of servyce. Ye shall understande that every moneth noted in the Kalender is dyvyded in thre partyes, that is to say *Kalendas, Nonas*, and *Ydus*. The fyrst daye of every moneth is called and named *Kalendas;* the seconde is namyd, not *Kalendas*, but *quarto, quinto*, or *sexto Nonas*, and soo tyll ye come to *Nonas;* and after *Nonas*, the dayes bene namyd *Ydus* tyll ye come to the myddell, and thenne all the moneth after named *Kalendas* after certen nombres; as the myddes of the monthe is namyd *xix.* other *xviii. Kalendas,* countynge lesse tyll ye come to the ende. Morally by these thre, *Kalendas, Nonas*, and *Ydus*, is understande the thre Ages of Man. By *Kalendas* is understande Childhode; *Kalendæ* is as moche to saye *quasi colendo*, for the consuetude of the [The Kalendar.]

[a] *i. e.* theme (or text).

Romaynes was, the fyrste daye of the moneth that is called *Kalendas* falleth, to solempnyse to ther goddes Hely, Juno et Jupyter. So verely the childehode of man is dedycate to devocyon. Thenne sette the faders the childerne to scole; and thenne be they taughte to serve God, to saye grace, to helpe the preest to synge; for to be meke, gentyll, and lowely. Thenne saye they our Lady matens, and bene ryght devoute. Of whom may be verefyed that is wryten by Davyd—*Hæc est generacio quærencium Dominum*, that is the generacyon that besyly by devocyon seke almyghty God.

[Childhood dedicate to devotion.]

[Our Lady Matins.]

By the seconde daye that is callyd *Nonas* I understande the seconde age, that is callyd *Juventus*, Youthe. *Nonæ dicuntur quasi nullæ*, for in that daye the Romayns worshypt no Goddes, nother in that season was noo festyvall dayes; or elles *nonæ dicuntur quasi nundinæ*, as moche to saye as a fayer, for in that tyme they occupied themself in fayers and marchaundyses. And herto convenyently may be the Youthe of man applyed, that is in specyall from xiiij. yeres unto xviij., in the whiche he is ful of undevocyon, and all moost forgetith to worshyp his God or ony saynt. And yf he do it with his mouthe, his herte is ful ferre from God aboute worldly vanytees. As it is wryten, *Populus hic labiis me honorat, cor autem eorum longe est a me* (*Ysay.* xxix°.) Congruently also Youthe maye be namyd *Nonæ* i. *nundinæ*—a fayer or market, for in this age is the marchaundyse of the devyll. The worlde habundauntly bought. Here the yonge man byeth a strompettes body for his body and soule. Here all vayne marchaundyses of the worlde bene bought, to the whiche is very prone and redy oure youthe of Englonde, as we may see dayly. There is no vanyte in no partye of the worlde but we bene redy to bye it: longe heres and shorte collers of Almayns; evyll fasshenyd garmentes and devyllisshe shoone and slyppers of Frensmen; powches and paynted gyrdylles of Spaynardes; newe founde hattes of Romayns; and so is fulfylled the wordes of oure Lord wryten in holy scrypture (Jeremiæ xi°.), *Elongaverunt a me, et ambulaverunt post vanitatem, et vani facti sunt.* "This Youthe (sayth our Lorde,) hath ferre put hymselfe fro me, and they have

[The Age of Youth.]

[Fairs and merchandise.]

[The Youth of England.]

[Vanities of Dress.]

walked after theyr owne vanytees, and by theyr invencyons they bene all vayne and undoubtyd." This alterable vanytees in garmentes is a true argument and a faythfull conclusyon to all wyse straungers that Englysshemen bee as chaungable in theyr maners and wyttes as they be in outwarde garmentes. And yf this vayne marchaundyse were oonly in youth of the reame it were more tollerable, but *inveterati dierum malorum*, boyes of fyfty yere of age are as newe fangled as ony yonge men be. The whiche by reasons holde torne theyr face from the worlde, consideryng the ende of theyr lyfe. But lytell that is consydered; ye, rather in theyr vanytees they bene praysed. *Quoniam laudatur peccator in desideriis animæ suæ, et iniquus benedicitur.* (*Psalmo, etc.*)

[Englishmen changeable.]

And the thyrde daye is callyd *Ydus*, the whiche is asmoche to saye as *divisio*, a departynge. By whom I understande the latter age of man, in the whiche man is dyvyded from the worlde by dethe, to the ende for to receyve good or evyll as he hath deserved in this present lyfe. Lyke wyse thenne, as in the fyrst part of the moneth there is but one daye that is callyd *Kalendæ*, the whiche is the fyrste daye of all, but in the later ende there be many dayes that bene named of the worde *Kalendas*, so, in comparyson of the fyrst daye of thy lyfe, that is to say of thy childehode, in the whiche thou wert well disposyd in devocyon, multeplye thy good lyf and holy dysposycyon in thy latter dayes, that thou mayest deserve oure Lordes mercy, sayenge with the Prophete in the sawter, *Et senectus mea in misericordia uberi.* And how be it thou hast often before in thy yonge age and myddell age dyvydyd thy lyfe somtyme to vertue, somtyme to vyce, ye as now in thy latter age kepe thy lyfe holy in vertue. Dyvyde it no more tyll dethe dyvyde it, after the counsell of the Gospelles, Joh'is xix°: *Non scindamus eam, sed sorciamur de ea cujus sit*—" Lete us not cutte it, but lete us draw lottes whose it shall be." How be it this texte after the letter is understonde of Crystys cote without seme, yet convenyently it may be understonde of every mannys lyfe or soule—*Tunica dicitur quasi tua*

[The latter age of Man.]

*unica.*[a] Whether is more surer thyne owne than thy soule, for the whiche prayeth the Prophete,[b] sayeng, *Erue a framea, Deus, animam meam, et de manu canis unicam meam.* And whyle it is so that man lyveth here in two lyves, one lyvynge after the pleasur of the worlde, the tother lyvynge here in vertue by grace to come to blysse, tho that woll geve one partye of theyr lyfe to vyces and another to vertue, and specially in theyr age, thyse maner of men dyvyde theyr cote, and they, nother all the tayllers in the worlde, shall never make it hole ayen; for, as saynt Jerome sayth in a pystle, *Difficile, ymmo impossibile est, ut quis in præsenti et in futuro fruatur gaudiis, ut hic ventrem et ibi mentem, et de deliciis transiat*—"It is harde, ye it is impossyble, that a man may have alle joye in this worlde and also in heven—here to fylle his body and there to fylle his mynde;" for truly the delytes of this worlde and the joyes of heven can never be togyder in one cote of thy soule. Wherfore yf thy cote of thy soule be ones hoole in vertue, without ony seme of vice, departe it never, but lete it retorne *in sortem Domini*, and contynewe thy lyfe in goodnesse without ony interrupcyon. And lyke wyse as in thy childehode thou begannest vertue oonly, where thrugh in that age thou prayseste almyghty God, so in thy myddell age, all wanton vanytees layed apart, encresse thy vertu as tho dyde of whom it is wryten, *Ibunt de virtute in virtutem quousque videatur Deus.* And that the ende may be conformable to his pryncyple without dyvysion, followynge the wayes of Innocency with thyse holy Innocents, in whose commendacions syngeth our moder holy chirche, *Novit Dominus viam Innocentum qui non steterunt in viis peccatorum.* And yf we be in synne to repare ourselfe to the state of grace without wyll to falle agayn. And in recognysaunce of this gracyous benefyte of remyssyon we may lovyngly prayse God as I exhortyd you

[a] This was a favourite mode of playing upon the sound of words taken in combination. Saint Augustine was quoted as authority for *monumentum* being derived, "eo quod *moneat mentem.*" See Weever's Discourse of Funerall Monuments, p. 9.

[b] Jeremiah.

before, sayeng, *Laudate, Pueri, Dominum*, graunt us all, *Cryste Jhesus Splendor Patris, corona Innocencium.*

AMEN.

*Explicit sermo ista.*

*Note.*—The remaining pages of the original pamphlet are filled up with a copy (in Latin) of the Indulgences granted by Pope John XXII., as written up at Rome in the Church of the Blessed Mary called Ara Cœli; but which, as foreign to the present subject, it has not been thought desirable to reprint.

Opposite the last page is a large cut of the Crucifixion.

# SERMON OF THE CHILD BISHOP,

## PRONOWNSYD BY JOHN STUBS, QUERESTER,

### ON CHILDERMAS DAY, AT GLOCETER, 1558.

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(Cotton. MS. Vespasian A. xxv., pp. 173—179.)

*Nisi conversi fueritis, et efficiamini sicut parvuli, non intrabitis in regnum celorum.* MATHEI 18. "Except yow will be convertyd, and made lyke unto lytill childern, yow shall not entre in to the kyngdom of heaven."

AMONG all the conclusions in holy Scripture, which are many and marvellous, Ryght worshypfull audience, this is not the lest to be marvellyd at, doubtyd, and dreadyd of all yow that are no childer, but men, women, and yonggolds, of years and discretion, yow specially whych alow no construction of the Scriptures but only the letter as it lyeth, thys I say whych our Saviour Chryst pronouncyd wyth his own mouth saying, "Except yow wil be convertyd," etc. As he wold say, Lytill ones shall entre to the kyngdom, but other shall not; and so all seme to be excludyd from the kyngdom but only childer, and such as are litill ones lyke unto childer.

Now, to yow that hange of the letter and not of the sprite, this change, for a great one to be changed into a lytill one, and an old man to becum a babe agayne, may seme no lesse strange and impossible to yow, then dyd the mystery of regeneracion, or new birth, unto Nichodemus, when he said unto Christ, *Quomodo potest homo nasci cum sit senex? Numquid potest in ventrem matris suæ iterato introire et renasci?* "How kan a man be born when he is ones old? Is it possible for hym to torne in to his mother's wombe agayne, and

so be borne anew, and becum of an old man a child agayne?" For other maner of birth then was by nature Nicodemus thaught not of. But our Saviour Christ gave hym to understand eare he went, that ther was a birth spirituall in water and in the Holy Goost, which now is dayly usyd of the Churche in the sacrament of baptisme, after the which birth it is possible for all ages both yong and old to be borne agayne anew, and so to have an entre into the kyngdom of heaven.

In lyke maner understand yow this conclusion of our Saviour, not, as the letter soundeth, by a miraculos or monstruose conversion of a man in to a childe as touching age, stature, an discretion, but of a morall conversion, as touching certyn evill maners that are reprovyd in men, and other contrary maners which are comendyd in childer, by which means it is possible ynough for the greatest of men to becum as litill childer, and for the eldest of women to becum in lyknes of maners as young babes, which are symple, withowt gyle, innocent, wythowt harme, and all pure wythowt corruption, as few above the age of childer are, and as all ought to be, and of necessitie must be if thei intend ther salvacion according to the wordes of Christ afore rehersed, *Nisi conversi fueritis*, etc. "Except you wil be convertyd and be made lyke unto litell ones, you shall not entre into the kyngdom of heavyn, you shall not entre, you shall not." Marke and regard the infallible sentence of Christes own mouth. Love litill ones, therfor, and learn of them how you may have an entre into the kyngdom of heavyn.

There is another conclusion in Scripture also which semeth to make as much for men and agaynst childer, to exclude them from the kyngdom. *Regnum* (inquit) *celorum vim patitur, et violenti rapiunt illud.* "The kyngdom of heaven (saith our Saviour Christ) suffreth violence, and thei that cum by it pluk it unto them with violence." Now, if this violence stode by stronge hand, and force of bodily strength, alak! what force, what violence, and what shyfftes could the litill ones make to catch the kingdom unto them? Every body would pluk it from the litill ones; but, thanks be unto

Math. 11.

God! the litill ones have by nature what the elder have by wrestlyng and stryvyng with their own affections. Thei have humilitie of mynd and sprite, which vertue the lower yt goeth the nerer it approcheth the kyngdom of heaven, and other like virtues the childer have which are degrees to the kyngdom; or, if yow understand these wordes of such spirituall violence, which consisteth more in violent suffryng then in violent action or doyng, this conclusion excludeth nether men, women, nor childer, for every one may suffre such kynd of violence for the kyngdom of God.

Such violence usyd thei which, utterly forsakyng the pleasures of the flesh, dyd castrate themselves for the kyngdom of heaven, as our Saviour saith in the 19. chap. of S. Mathew. Such violence usyd the Apostles, which utterly renownsyd the world and all worldly goodes, and folowyd Christ in povertie of the world, and of the sprite both, for the desyre of the kyngdom. Such violence usyd S. Mathew the puplicane, and Mary Magdalene the synner, and all other which, for the love of the kyngdom, do willingly forsake their evill trade and synfull lyving,[a] stryvyng with the world and with themselves to entre into the kyngdom by the narow gate that Christ speke of in the 13. cap. of S. Luke, saying, *Contendite intrare per angustam portam.* "Stryve to entre in by the narow gate."

Such violence usyd our Saviour Christ hym selfe to entre into his own kyngdom, for thus he saith of hymself, *Nonne oportuit Christum pati, et ita intrare in gloriam suam?* "Dyd it not behove Christ to suffre as he dyd, and so to entre into his own kyngdom?" He suffryd this violence not only on the crosse, being at man's state, but also in his cradell, and in his mother's armes in his childhode and infancy, when kyng Herode conspiryd his death, and thought by all meanes to destroy hym in his childhode, but he myst of hym then, as the wyll of God his father was, by flying the persecution in to Ægypt untill the deth of Herode.

[a] as thei dyd, takyng penance upon them, and professyng a new lyfe opynly, not regardyng what the world wold talke or judge of them, but what was expedient for their salvation, as men that dyd stryve, &c. *These words are erased in the MS.*

By such violence these blessyd Innocentes atchyvyd to the kyngdom of heaven, of whom the Church this day make worthy memory. Thei suffryd the violence of Herode and his tormentors, beyng harmless Innocentes deservyng nothing lesse then such cruell death. Yet thei that sawght Christes bloud, beyng uncerteyn of Christys person, dyd onmercifully spill the bloud of all Innocentes that were about the age of Christ, from ij. years old and inward, by means wherof ther death was and is imputed to them for acceptable martyrdom; for the tyrant and his tormentors, beyng oncertyn of Jesus' person, thaught that thei slew the child and innocent Jesus in every of these Innocentes, so that, if thei myst hym in one, thei thought to hitt hym in another. And so every of these Innocentes dyd shed their bloud, not only in the quarell of Christ, but also in the person of Christ, which was a prerogative above all other martyrs; for, allthough many holy martyrs have dyed in the quarell of Christ, yet dyd never none but these blessyd Innocentes dye for the person of Christ; and this is their prerogative in martyrdom, beside the rightuosness of their most pure innocency, withowt the which the suffryng of ther bloud shed and their quarell for Christ cold not gyve them the glory of martyrdom, for a malefactor that suffreth not innocently, but for his own gilt and deservyng, is worthy that he suffreth, saith S. Peter, and he byds such to be content, and to loke for no thankes of God at all. 1ª Petri, 2°.

And so, by this reason of S. Peter, it is evident that thei are far wyde of true martirdom, and consequently of the kyngdom too, which suffryd violence of fyre, hangyng, headyng, banysshyng, or other just execution, for many and divers enormities in ther faith and maners, allthough, in the opinion of ther favorars, thei are taken for very holy martyrs only for ther pretensyd good quarell and for ther patient suffryng, lackyng the commendacion of innocency, which unto martirdom, as I said, is a vertue most necessary: so necessary that withowt it ther is no perfitt charity, withowt the which no cause, no payne, no pacience, no quarell, no, not the quarell of faith and Christ, avayleth or profiteth to the title of mar- [Reflections on the Protestant martyrs.]

tyrdom, or to the title of the kyngdom. This is not my judgement, but S. Augustine's in his boke *De fide, ad Petrum.*

[Abel the first martyr.]

And, for the more prayse of innocency, note you this, that the first Martyr of the world was all an Innocente. Was not Abel, the 2. son of Adam, slayn and martyrryd of his brother Cain at the begynnyng? He was. Rede the 4. cap. of Genesis. *Et propter quod occidit fratrem suum?* "And why dyd the wicked Cain slay his brother?" saith S. John. *Quia opera ejus maligna erant, fratris autem ejus justa.* "Because (saith he) that his own workes were evill, and his brother's workes were good." And so it appereth that Abell suffered in the quarell of his innocency, and so he is termyd Abell the innocent, and the first Martyr.

[The Innocents the first martyrs after the birth of Christ.]

Note you agayne that the first martyrs in the new law after the birth of Christ were a nombre of Innocentes togythers which all suffryd for ther innocency, because thei were found in that state of innocency that Jesus was hymselfe; wheras, if thei had been out of that state, and those years of innocency which agreed with the age of Jesus, they had not suffryd; but it was not without the great providence of God that these first martyrs should be all innocentes.

[Stephen the first martyr after the death of Christ.]

Thridly. Note yow that the first martyr that ever was after the death of Christ was S. Steven; but the same was an innocent too, for, while his enymyes that saught his death could fynd no cause in hym worthy of death, the text saith that they dyd subornate false wittnesses that chargyd hym with blasphemy, and for blasphemye he dyed, wherin he was most innocent. Vide the 6. of the Actes, there shall you find it.

[All true martyrs innocents.]

Brefely, all the martirs that ever were alowyd and approvyd for trew and holy Martyrs in dede were all Innocentes, giltles of ther death, by no meanes deservyng the same on ther own behalfe.

Thus much I have said of the virtue of innocency, for the honor of these blessyd Innocentes and innocent childer, which are remembryd in the Church this day; which day, as it is commynly termed Childermas day, so is it celebrate and solempnisyd by the preferment of childer in all great cathedrall churches, which gyve the

[Childermas day.]

childer the prerogative this day above men, in token that the innocent childer which shed ther bloud for the person of the most pure innocent child Jesus had a prerogative above all men in ther kind of martyrdom, as I said before. Of this vertue of innocency, and other vertues and good properties in childer, which are to be folowyd of the elders, I purpose to speke more largely in my processe; and, that I may have the grace this to expresse for your edificacion, and yow the grace the same to beare away and folow for your own weale and salvacion, so that, on my part and yours both, all may redownd to the honor and glory of Allmighty God, before I wade any farder in this matter I shall desyre you all to assist me with your prayer.

*Preces.*

*A-A-A- domine Deus, ecce nescio loqui quia puer ego sum.* O [Prayer.] Lord, which namest thyself Alpha et O, the first letter and the last, the begynnyng and the end of all thinges, and consequently of all wordes that may be writtyn or spoken by any letters, from the first letter to the last, behold I have begon to speke unto thy people as it were at the first lettre—helpe me that I may go through to the end, for, consideryng my tendre age and infansy, I am constrayned to complayn with the wordes of the prophete Jeremy, *s.* A-A-A- Cap. 1c. Lord God, behold I kan not speke, I kan not utter thy wordes and thy message as besemeth, *quia puer ego sum*, because I am but a child, not only as Jeremye was, but I am a child in dede; but, if I were a man that had utterance and eloquence to set forth and prosecute thi word, which I have begon with all in my theme towchyng the change of men into childer, Lord, how earnest I wold be with the elders of this audience to convert them selves and ther maners to the lykness of litill childer, that thei myght be suer of thy gloriose kyngdom. Lord, how fervent I wold be with my late companions, yong boys, which yet beare the name of childer, to retagne and kepe the commendable qualities of childer, and not to degenerate from ther vertues, that I myght make them also partenars of thy kyngdom. But I am a very child in those matters, and kan not speake halfe perfectly. Thow knoest, O Lord!

[Exhortation.] What then, good people? Because I kan not speake perfectly and eloquently shall I speake nothing at all? Why am I set up in this place? Why is the message committed unto me? Speake I must, allthough lyke a child, and stammer owt of this word of God a briefe exhortacion to both sortes, the elders and yongers, as well as I kan; first to the elders, and after to the yongers; and, that don, as brefely as I kan comprise, I shall committ yow to God.

[First to the elders.] First, therfor, of these wordes of our Saviour, "Except yow wil be convertyd and becum as litill childer, yow shall not entre into the kyngdom of heavyn," I gather this lesson for yow that are of the elder sort, that of necessitie yow must nede reforme your corrupt maners, which are dissonant and disagreable with the incorrupt maners of childer, and frame your affections thereafter, so that yow be convertyd into the better, or else you kan not loke for the kyngdom of heaven; for th'Apostles them selves, in the tyme of ther carnalitie and imperfection, contending among them selfes for the highest roume in the kyngdom, and which of them should be more worthy then other, were answeryd with the same wordes that yow all are, that, except thei would becum other maner a men, and be convertyd into the lykeness of childer by humilitie and other vertues, thei should have no part in the kyngdom of Christ.

The apostles upon this framyd them selves accordingly for the love of the kyngdom, and thei understode by the answer that the kyngdom of heavyn wold not be gotten by pride, ambition, contencion, envy, emulacion, stowtness, and elacion; therfor they abasyd them selves to most profound humilitie, povertie, mekeness of sprite; and convertyd ther maners most like to the maners of innocent childer. Therfor considre what behoveth yow for your partes that, seth the apostles, were forsyd thus to do by the answer of Christ, what behoveth yow to do on your behalfe for the love of the kyngdom. Yow must nede gyve over your stowt corage that bolden yow to syn, and yow must becum meke as childer; if yow will cum to heavyn yow must not disdayn to becum and to be cowntyd as childer.

But how as childer? Not to be childysh in witt, understandyng,

and discrecion; for S. Pawl, the secretary of Christ's cownsell, do cownsell the contrary in the 4. cap. to the Ephesians, *Ne simus sicut parvuli fluctuantes qui circumferantur omni vento doctrinæ*, etc. "Let us not be still as childer that be wavering and wilbe caried hyder and thyder with every blast of doctrine," by the wylynes and craftynes of men which lay wayt to deceive us. Yf we note these wordes of S. Pawl well, you shall perceive that he takes it to be a childysh poynt for any Christian man to waver in his faith, and that it is for lak of witt if he be caried from the doctrine of his awncient relligion in to a new fanglyd doctrine, which hath no suertie in it, but is inconstant as the wynd. Yf this be a childysh poynt, and argueth lak of witt and discrecion, as S. Pawl saith, I report me to you how many witless childer and childysh people were in thys realme of late years and yet are in many places, which waveryd in ther faith, and were caried hyder and thyder, from one opinion to another, as childer ar caried with an apple, or wyth a puffe of wynd, as thei that have strength to resist nothing, which is reproveable in men that should have constancie and discrecion.

[Waverers in their faith of late years.]

Therfor S. Pawl in an other place saith thus, *Nolite effici pueri sensibus*, "Be yow not childer as touching witt and discrecion," *sine malitiis parvuli estote*, "but as touching malice and syn be yow not only as childer, but as litill litill childer," that kan not tell what syn or malice meanith.

1 Cor. 14.

Considre well the nature of innocent childer, and yow shall perceive in them no maner of malice, no envy, no disdayne, no hurtfullness, no synfull affection, no pride, no ambition, no singularitie, no desyre of honor, of riches, of carnalitie, of revenginge, or quittyng evyll for evyll; but all the affections quiet, in all pacience, in all simplicitie, in all puritie, in all tractableness, in all obedience, in all humilitie, and in all innocency; and no such synfull affections reigning in them as commynly rageth in men and women of years.

These and such other good qualities in childer are to be observyd and folowed of yow that are the elders; but specially, and among all other vertues, I wold wish yow to embrace the innocency of childer, for that one vertue includeth all, as the generall includeth the spe-

ciall, for who that hath this innocency hath halfe the rightuosness and perfection of a Christian man's lyfe; for the rightuosness of lyfe growndyd in the rightuosness of fayth resteth upon ij. poyntes which the prophet Esai expresseth by thes wordes, *Quiescite agere perversè, discite bene facere,* "Cease to do evill and learn to do well." Who that observes the first part is an innocent, if he cease to do evill; who that observes the 2. part is a just man, if he learne and practise to do well.

The same is expressed by the prophete David in these wordes, *Declina a malo, et fac bonum,* "Shon the evill, and do the good." The shonning of evill belonges to the innocent; the doing of good belonges to the just man. The first is expressyd agayne by the vertuose man Tobie, saying to his son, *Quod oderis tibi fieri hoc alteri unquam ne feceris,* "What thing thow wold not have done to thy selfe that thyng never do unto other." Mark this part for the innocent. The other part is expressyd by our Saviour hymselfe, Luc. 6. saying, *Prout vultis ut faciant vobis homines et vos facite illis similiter,* "Evyn as yow desire that other should do to yow, do yow the same good unto them." Lykewise marke this part for the rightuose man.

Now compare yow the ij. partes togyder, and se how far or how nere yow are to the kyngdom of heavyn. If yow have both these partes of rightuosness yow are very nere to the kyngdom, and the kyngdom is nere unto yow. Yf yow have but the first part only, which standeth by innocency, then are yow halfe the way to the kyngdom. Yf yow have nother the one part nor the other, and hold yow ther, then are yow from the kyngdom so farr as thei that shall never cum ther: therfor loke well unto it; and remembre the wordes of our Saviour, that except yow wilbe convertyd and chaungyd, and becum lyke unto litill childer, yow shall not entre into the kyngdom of heavyn. And this I have said as touching the first part for yow that be the elders.

[Address to the children.] Now for yow childer, both boys and wenches, that beare the name of childer, I gather this lesson of the wordes of our Saviour, that it is for yow most necessary to kepe the innocency of your childhod, and other vertues proper unto that tendre age, and not to learn the

vices and evill qualities of your elders, leste yow lose the kyngdom which is appoynted unto yow by name. And tyme it is to call upon yow this to do, for not only I, but the world, do se in yow that yow and the very litill ones that follow yow do grow nowadayes so fast owt of this innocent state that it is wonder to me to se amonge yow so many childer in years, and so few innocentes in maners. I am not very old my selfe to speake by experience; but I have hard say of my elders that a child was wont to continew an innocent untill he was 7. years old, and untill 14. years he was provyd to be of such vertue and honest nurture that he deservyd the love and prayse of all people; and now we shall not fynd such a one at 7. as was then at 14, nor at 5. as was then at 7, nor scant at 3. as was then at 9. or x. years old: this is great odes, but is this a good hearyng? Tell me, yow boys, yow childer, yow litill ones, are yow not ashamyd of your partes that yow are so sone corruptyd? so sone ripe, and so sone rottyn? so late innocentes, and so sone lewd lads? deservyng nother love nor prayse of any honest person. What yow are I kan not tell; but, a my honestie, I am both ashamyd of it and sory for it, that yow should so slandre the name of childer, and deceive your elders, which have an eye unto yow to note and folow your maners, as thei are advertysed by the wordes of Christ.

[How long a child continues an innocent.]

Good people, yow know your charge by the wordes of Christ how that yow must of necessitie be convertyd if yow will enjoy the kyngdom of heavyn, and how yow are sent to these childer to take example of your conversion to the better; and I have partly exhortyd yow here unto; and now the childer that should be for your example are so evill maneryd for the most part, and so vitiosly corruptyd in ther maners, that I will not wish yow to folow them, except it be upon great choyse and great discrecion; and yet some I must appoynt unto yow for example.

[Children now evil mannered and corrupted.]

But wher shall I fynd them? In the citie? I dare not warrant yow to folowe the childer of the citie, no not the yongest of all, if thei be ones owt of ther mothers' handes and kan run abowt the streates and speake all thinges perfittly; for thei have be scolyd at home that of them as yong as thei are yow may learne as evill properties

[The children of the City.]

as yow have all redy of your own; yea and perhapps the same which the child learnyd of yow before, as to swere with a grace, as som termes the othes that cum from the hart, with a stomake to curse bitterly, to blaspheme, to lye, to moke ther elders, to nykname ther æqualls, to knowledge no dutie to ther betters, and such other many mo. Thei go to scole in the open streates one with an other. I will not wysh yow to folow such.

[Children of the Grammar Schools.]

Which then? The childer that go to scole in the grammer scoles under a master? A man wold think yea, because thei are scoles set up purposly for the good educacion of childer, as well in good nurture as in good learning; but yet I dare not warant yow to folow the childer of the grammer scoles, for, how so ever it happ, nurturyd thei are as evill or rather worse then the other. Yf yow will have a profe herof, mark ther maners in the temple, and at the table; mark ther talkes and behavior by the wayes at such tymes and houres as thei leave scole and go home to ther meales, specially on holydays and campos dayes,[a] when thei are sett a litill at libertie. I will say no more; but mark them, for I have lost my mark except yow find the most of them most ongracious grafftes, ripe and redy in all lewd libertie. I will not wish yow to folow such.

[The choristers and children of the Song School.]

Which then? The queresters and childer of the song-scole? Beware what yow do: for I have experience of them more then of the other. Yt is not so long sens I was one of them myself but I kan remembre what shrewness was used among them, which I will not speake of now;[b] but I kan not let this passe ontouched how boyyshly thei behave themselves in the church, how rashly thei cum into the quere without any reverence; never knele nor cowntenaunce to say any prayer or Pater noster, but rudely squat down on ther tayles,[c] and justle wyth ther felows for a place; a non thei startes me owt of the quere agayne, and in agayne and out agayne, and thus one

[a] Campus, or camp-days, for matches at football.

[b] *As first written*, what fightyng, lying, mooching, and forgyng of false excuses was among them, beside that, where thei are brought up specially to serve God in the church, thei do nothing lesse in the church then serve God.

[c] which lak twynggyng, *erased*.

after an other, I kan not tell how oft nor wherfor, but only to gadd and gas abrode, and so cum in agayne and crosse the quere fro one side to another and never rest, withowt any order, and never serve God nor our Lady with mattyns or with evynsong, no more then thei of the grammer scoles; whose behaviour is in the temple as it were in ther scole ther master beyng absent, and not in the church God being present. I will not wysh you to folow such.

Which then? Here is a company afore me of childer, semely in sight, most like unto innocentes, specially one litill one in the mydes, which puts me in mynd of the child which Jesus callyd unto hym and set in the myd of his disciples when they were at bate who should be chefe among them; the child had prayse of Jesus' own mouth for his meke behaviour and nurture, so much that Jesus said of him, *Quique se humiliavit sicut parvulus, iste intrabit in regnum celorum*, "Who so that meke and humble hym selfe as this child doth here before yow, he shall entre into the kyngdom of heaven." Such a one this litill one in the mydes here appereth to be that he myght be thought worthy to be sett in the mydes for an example unto yow of pure childhode, mekness, and innocency. Loke in his face and yow wold think that butter wold not melt in his mouth; but, as smothe as he lokes, I will not wysh yow to folow hym if yow know as much as I do. Well, well! all is not gold that shynes, nor all are not innocentes that beare the face of childer. [One little one in the midst.]

Now I se non other choyse but that I must leave the boys and the childer that are ripe in witt and speche, and must poynt yow to the litill ones which yet run on ther mother's hand, onable of them selfes to run strongly abrode, as yet onrype in witt and onperfitt in speche: sett your eye upon such and observe in them the true vertues of a child for your example, for such I dare warant yow. As for the residue, I dare not warant yow, except it be one among a C., whom yow must chewse with great observacion and discrecion.

Here is a great lake and small choyse among so many childer: and where is the falte? wher is the great falte? Evyn in yow that are ther parents, ther fathers, mothers, and ther scolemasters. [The great fault is want of teaching.]

[a] Where is the great falte? Evyn in the parentes, fathers, mothers and scolemasters, which do nother teach ther childer good, nother yet chastice them when thei do evill; when thei lye and swere as I have hard some do, Good Lord, how abominably! and curse with plages and pestilence and murrens upon ther felows, brothers, and sisters, evyn ther parentes standyng by and hearing them; and yet not a word of correction, notwithstandyng thei have a great care and charge upon ther childer as thei know ther folies, and shall gyve a straight accompte for them unto allmyghtie God. And what is the matter? a folysh affection and a fond opinion in the parentes, which very fondly seke the love of ther child that knoweth not what love or dutye meaneth, and that he may say "I am father's boy" or "I am mother's boy," and "I love father (or mother) best;" to wyn this word, and the love of the child, the parentes contend who shall make most of the child, and by these means no partye dare displease hym, say he or do he never so ongraciously, but both parties dandill hym and didill hym and pamper hym and stroke his hedd and sett hym a hye bence, and gyve hym the swetyst soppe in the dish evyn when he lest deserve it: this marrs the child, it makes hym to thynke he does well when he do stark nought.

[Fond and foolish affection of parents]

There are very fond fathers in this poynt, and many mo fond mothers. Dyd you never here, yow fond mothers, what the wise Salomon saith, *Qui parcitur virgæ odit filium*, "Thei that spare the rodd do hate the child:" and yet yow that never use the rod wyll say that yow do it for love toward your child. The wyse man sayth such love is hatered; therfor it must nede be a fond love that you beare toward your childer in this poynt, specially in such mothers as when ther childer do a falt, and never so many faltes, which will not ones touch the child, but take the rod and beate the quyssion or the forme and after borne the rodd and say thei spare not the rodd. O fond, fond mothers! what falt have the quyssion don to be bettyn? what falt have the rodd don to be brent? Your child have done the falt,

[Fond mothars beat the cushion or form, and burn the rod.]

[a] This commences another sheet of the MS.

why do not he smart of the rodd? Why do you spare the child? What hurt kan the rodd do to your child? Ys it not an old and a tru saying, *The rodd breakes no bones?* But you have such a fond tendrenes that yow kan not fynd in your hart to beat your tendrelyng, for if he should wepe yow must wepe to for company. Well, I wyll take upon me now to be a prophete in this matter, that such mothers shall wepe here after to see the ontowardness of such childer, when the childer will not wepe with the mothers for company as yow mothers do now with them.

[The fathers will not kill the courage of their children.]

The fathers are as fond agayne on the other part: "Nay, (say thei,) yf I should beate my child, and kepe hym undre and in awe now, I should kill his corage in his youth, and take away his hart that he shall never be bold when he is a man." Mary! that is the very thyng that is meanyd in all good educacion, to discorage youth utterly as touching vice and vicious maners, and to bolden and corage them in all probitye and vertue, and vertuose maners. To lake a stomake and boldness in vice is no lake nor disprayse, but prayse and profitt withall; but, yf your desire be to have them stowt in evill demaner, yow shal be the first that shall have experience of that stowtness; for, after a litill time, thei wil be so styfe and stubborn against yow that yow shall not be able to rule them yf yow wold, and, in conclusion, they will contempne yow, and sett yow at nought above all other persons. This is the retorne of such fond tendreness; as experience teacheth by the example of thowsands which have ben brought up so choysely, tendrely, and dangerosly. Well, to be breffe, if yow will know the resolucion of this opinion for stowtness, and for [the end] of such corrupt educacion, rede yow the boke of the son of Syrac, cap. 30. Ther you shall find the matter playn ynowgh agaynst yow, and I wold now recyte it unto yow if it were not to long for this short tyme.

Now, farewell yow fathers and mothers: yow have your lesson. I must have a word or ij. with the scolemaisters, which, at some of your handes, take your childer in cure to teach and nurture them, as well in vertue as in prophane learnyng.

[Address to schoolmasters.] Therfor I say now to yow scolemasters, that have the youth under your handes to make or marr, marr them not by your neglygence, but make them to God ward with your diligence. Remembre that Allmyghtie God regardeth the litill ones, and wold not have them to be led from hym by yow, but by yow to be brought unto hym; and this he will require at your handes, as well as at the parentes, for your scole is your cure, and yow shall give accomptes for every scoler in your scole for the tyme beyng; and yow owght to regard them all as your childer, and your selfes as their fathers, for Quintilian, the flower of scolemasters, termeth you to be *tertios parentes*, the thred parentes to the child which yow have under your cure for good educacion; for, as the carnall parentes by carnalitye do fascion the body, so the scolemaster do or owght to fascion the soule of the child by good educacion in learnyng of good nurture and vertue; and therefore the scolemaster that so doth is cowntyd to be the 3. parent to the child, yea, and the most worthiest parent of the 3, in as much as the good fascionyng of the soule by nurture and vertue is better then the best fascionyng of the body by nature; and so the scolar will regard his scolemaster for ever if he have at his handes such educacion that he fele hym selfe the better, otherwise he will contempne hym of all men, evyn as the child brought up in stoutness will most contempne the father and mother. Yow scolemasters have a good order in your scoles for breaking Priscian's head or syngyng out of tune. I wold yow wold take the same order for breakyng of God's comandementes and ontunynge of Godes harpe, which soundeth in all his wordes. Yf a scoler of the song scole syng out of tune, he is well wrong by the ears, or else well beatyn. Yf a scoler in the gramer scole speak false Lattyn or Englysh forbyddyn, he is takyn withall of one or the other and warnyd custos to be beatyn. I wysh that yow wold take the like order for the evill behaviour of your scolers, that, if any be takyn with a word of blasphemy, with a word of ribaudry, with a manifest lye, and such talke or dedes as are contrary to the laws of God and the holye Churche, let them be first warnyd custos, or wrong by the ears for

it, and after be correctyd as the custos is usyd. Other good orders devise of your selves for the good purpose, as yow wyll avoyd the reproche of synfull negligence both before God and man.

Perhaps some will think hert in ther myndes that I am very bold to fynd so many faltes with so many parties—fathers, mothers, scolemasters, childer, scolers, and no scollers; and take upon me to reforme my elders, I beyng so yong in age as I am, and to reprove other wherin I am not all clere my selfe, as some will judge that knew me in my childhode. Well! if we all amend we shalbe never the worse; and I confesse to them that I was sumtyme, as yet the most of them are, shrewd ynough for one; but I paid well for it, and have now left it, and I may now alledge for my self the wordes of S. Pawl, *Cum essem parvulus, sapiebam ut parvulus, cogitabam ut parvulns, loquebar ut parvulus: nunc autem factus sum vir evacuavi ea quæ erant parvuli:* "When I was a chyldysh boy, my discrecion was therafter, my wordes and dedes were therafter, the fansys and desires of my hart were therafter; but, now that I have cum to be a man, I have cast of all boy's touches," that is to say, all shrowdness of childhod, as I wold all yow had don, retayning the puritie of your childhod, that it may [endure] with yow togyther with age and years, and no doubt that will cause you to grow unto honestie and worshippe (as you see in me this day), and also bring yow to the honor and felicitie of the kingdom, which is promised to pure and innocent childer; and, so being, I wold wysh yow to have many folowars, yea, all this holl audience present, that, as thei folow yow in your puritie and innocency, so thei may entre with yow into the kyngdom of everlastyng glorye throwghe the intercession of the holy and blessyd Innocentes, who are the occasion of this my simple collacion this day, and through the merittes of our Saviour Jesus Christ, unto whom, with the Father and the Holy Gost, be all prayse, honor, and glory, for ever and ever! Amen.

*Deo Gratias.*

*Ex.* Ric. Ramsey.

# APPENDIX.

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## Compotus Nicholay de Newerk custodis bonoꝝ Joñis de Cave Eꝑi Innocenciū Anno dñi ꝛc. Nonagesimo sexto.

In pⁱmis r̊ de xij d̊ r̊ in oblacõe die Natītatę dñi Et de xxiiij s̊ j d̊ rec̃ in oblac̃ die Innocent̃ ꝛ j cocleaꝝ̃ argent̃ pond̊ xx d̊ ꝛ j annulū argent̃ cū bursa cerica eod̊ die ad missam Et de xx d̊ rec̃ de Maĝro Wiłłmo de Kexby p̃centoꝝ̃ Et de ij s̊ rec̃ de Maĝro Joħe de Schirburñ cancellaꝝ̃ Et de vj s̊ viij d̊ r̊ de Maĝro Joħ de Newton thesauraꝝ̃ ad Novam [a] Et de vj s̊ viij d̊ r̊ de Maĝro Thoma Dalby archid̊ Richmūd̊ Et de vj s̊ viij d̊ r̊ de Maĝro Nichõ de Feriby Et de vj s̊ viij d̊ r̊ de Maĝro Thoma de Wallworth̄. Clausura.

Sm^a^ lv s̊ v d̊.

Iīm r̊ de vj s̊ viij d̊ r̊ de Dño Abbt̄e Moñ bt̄e Marie v̄g̃ ex^a^ Muros Eboꝝ Et de iij s̊ iiij d̊ rec̃ de Maĝro Willm̃o de Feriby Archid̊ Estrid̊. Villa.

Sm^a^ x s̊.

Iīm de iij s̊ iiij d̊ r̊ de dño Thoma Ugtreht milite Et de ij s̊ r̊ de pⁱore de Kyrkh^a^m Et de vj s̊ viij d̊ r̊ de pⁱore de Malton Et de xx s̊ r̊ de comitissa de Northumbr̄ ꝛ j anulū auꝝ̃ Et de vj s̊ viij d̊ de pⁱore de Bridlyngtoñ Et de iij s̊ iiij d̊ de pⁱore de Watton Et de iij s̊ iiij d̊ de rectore de Bayntoñ Et de iij s̊ iiij d̊ de Abbt̄e de Melsa Et de xx d̊ r̊ de pⁱore de Feriby Et de vj s̊ viij d̊ r̊ de dño Stepħo de Scrope Et de ij s̊ de pⁱore de Drax Et de vj s viij d̊ r̊ de Abbt̄e de Selby Et de iij s̊ iiij d̊ r̊ de pⁱore de Pontefract̄ Et de vj s̊ viij d̊ r̊ de pⁱore Sc̃i Oswald̊ Et de Patria.

[a] The meaning of "ad Novam" is doubtful.

iij s̄ iiij đ r⁹ de p^i^ore de Munkbretton Et de vj s̄ viij đ r⁹ de dño Joħe Depdene Et de vj s̄ viij đ r⁹ de dña de Marmeon ⁊ j anulū aur̄ cū bursa cerica Et de iii s̄ iiij đ de dña de Harlsay Et de vj s̄ viij đ de dña de Rosse Et de ij s̄ r⁹ de Abb̄te Ryavaſt Et de ij s̄ r⁹ de Abb̄te Bellalanđ Et de ij s̄ r⁹ de p^i^ore de Novoburgo Et de xx đ r⁹ de p^i^ore de Marton. Sm^a^ v ħi. x s̄.

Sm^a^ totaƚ Receptoꝝ viij ħi xv s̄ v đ.

pense inf' itatem.

De quibꝫ dc̄us N. compotat ad[a] "O virgo virginū" In pane ꝑ speciebꝫ j đ In c⁹visia vj đ. Sm^a^ vij đ.

Itm̄ in sua Cena In pane vij đ Et in[b] pane dñico iiij đ In c⁹vis̄ xxj đ In carñ vituƚ ⁊ mutuƚ ix đ oƀ In sawcetiis iiij đ In ij anatibus iiij đ In xij galliñ ij s̄ vj đ In viij wodkoks ⁊ j pluver ij s̄ ij đ In iij dos̄ ⁊ x feldfars xix đ In ꝑvis avibus iij đ In vino ij s̄ iij đ In div⁹s̄ spēbꝫ xj đ In lx wardons v đ oƀ In melle ij đ oƀ In cenapio j đ In ij ħi candeƚ ij đ oƀ In flour̄ ij đ In focali j đ oƀ Itm̄ coco vj đ. Sm^a^ xv s̄ vj đ oƀ.

Itm̄ die Innocent̄ ad cenam In pane iij đ In c⁹vis̄ v đ In carñ vituƚ ⁊ mutuƚ vij đ In pipe ⁊ croco j đ. Diebꝫ ven⁹is ⁊ sabbī nichil q^i^a nō visitarūt. Itm̄ doc^a^ p^i^ma seq̄nt̄ diebꝫ lune Martę Mercur̄ n^l^ q^i^a nō visitarūt. Die Jovis s. die Oct̄ Innocent̄ inierūt versus Kexby ad do^m^ de Ugtrehte ⁊ revenerūt ad cenā In pane ij đ In c⁹vis̄ iiij đ In carñ v đ Diebꝫ ven⁹is et sabbt̄i nichil q^i^a nō visitarūt. Doc^a^ ij^a^ s. die Sc̄i Willm̄i devillaverūt In pane ad Jantacƚm ij đ In c⁹vis̄ iij đ In carñ v đ. Die lune cū ebdo^a^ seqñt̄ nichil q^i^a ex^a^ villam. Doc^a^ iij^a^ cū ebdo^a^ seqñt̄ ex^a^ villam. Die sabbī revenerūt ad cenam In pane j đ oƀ In c⁹vis̄ iij đ In lacte ⁊ pisc̄ iij đ. Doc^a^ iiij^a^ n^l^. Die lune iner̄t ad scolas et p⁹ Jantacƚ devillaverūt In pane ij đ In c⁹vis̄ iij đ oƀ In carñ vij đ. Die

[a] One of the nine anthems called "the great O's," and this one was sung at vespers, on the 23rd of December.

[b] This was probably for "the holy loaf."—See Dr. Rock's "Church of Our Fathers," i. p. 135.

sabbī revenerūt ad cenā In pane ij đ oƀ In ꝯvis̄ ij đ In pisc̄ vj đ. Doc^a v^a usq; ad fiñ Purific̄ n^i. Sm^a v s̄ vij đ oƀ.

In p^imis In ȝona empt̄ ꝑ ep̄o iij đ In emendac̄ pilii sui j đ In pane equino ante arrept̄ itineris ij đ In oblac̄ ap̄d Bridlyngtoñ ij đ In elemosīa ibiđ j đ In ferilay apđ Melsam iiij đ In ferilay apud Drax iiij đ In pane equino apđ Selby iiij đ Itm̄ barbitonsori j đ In j. garth apđ Bridlyngtoñ j đ In emendac̄ j. garth ibiđ oƀ In ij pectinibȝ eq^inis empt̄ apđ Bridlyngtoñ ⁊ Ebor̄ iiij đ In j. garth apđ Bevꝯt j đ In ferrac̄oe equoꝝ apđ Feriby viij đ oƀ In emendac̄ j. garth oƀ In cena apđ Ledes xvij đ In feno ⁊ avena ibiđ xiij đ It̄ in cena apđ Riplay xvj đ In feno et avena ibiđ xij đ oƀ In ferrac̄ equoꝝ apđ Fontans iiij đ In ferilay vers⁹ Harlsay iiij đ In baytyng apđ Allertoñ vj đ In vino ꝑ ep̄o viij đ In pane et feno equoꝝ apđ Helmslay vj đ In ferrac̄oe equoꝝ apđ Novūburgū iij đ Sm^a x s̄ vij đ. Varie expens per totā viā.

In p^imis In j. torchio ēpt̄ ponđ xij ƚi. iiij s̄ iij đ In j. pilio ix đ In j. par̄ cirothecaꝝ lineaꝝ iij đ In j. par̄ manicaꝝ iij đ In j. par̄ cultelloꝝ xiiij đ In j. par̄ calcar̄ v đ It̄ ꝑ factura robe xviij đ In furura agnina ēpt̄ ꝑ suꝑtunica ij s̄ vj đ In fururis ex convenc̄one vj s̄ In ꝯricidiis ꝑ totū tēp⁹ viij đ In carboñ mariñ vij đ In carboñ ligñ x đ In paris candeƚ iiij đ oƀ In xxviij par̄ cirothecaꝝ ēpt̄ ꝑ vicar̄ ⁊ mag̃ris scolaꝝ iij s̄ iiij đ oƀ It̄ ꝑ emendac̄ cape cerice ij đ Sm^a xxiij s̄ j đ. Var' expense ad usū ep'i inf' civitatem.

In p^imis Nicħo de Newsome tenori suo[a] xiij s̄ iiij đ Et eiđ ꝑ suo equo conducto ij s̄ It̄ Roƀto Dawtry senescallo vj s̄ viij đ ⁊ ꝑ p̄dic̄oibȝ ejusđ in capella ij s̄ j đ oƀ It̄ Joħi Baynton[b] cantāt̄ mediū x s̄ It̄ Joħi Grene v s̄ It̄ Joħi Ellay iij s̄ iiij đ It̄ Joħi Schaptoñ ꝯvient̄ eiđ cū ij equis suis x s̄ ij đ It̄ Thome Marschale ꝑ j. equo iij s̄ iiij đ It̄ j. sellar̄ ꝑ j. equo iij s̄ vj đ It̄ pistori ꝑ j. equo iij s̄ vj đ It̄ Ric̄do Fowler̄ ꝑ ij equis v s̄. Sm^a lxvij s̄ xj đ oƀ. Stipendia serviētiū et equorū.

[a] His tenor voice singer, or, in other words, the leader of his choir.

[b] This John Baynton sang the introit of the mass on the Sunday next after Christmas Day, and this introit begins "Dum medium silentium tenerent omnia," &c.

'eoda mīst°r' i
ɔc'ia mīst^a nc'.

In p'mis succentor̃ vicar̃ ij s̃ sb̃cancellar̃ xij đ It̃ cere p̃uoꝝ[a] xij đ It̃ cl̃icę de vestib̃ xij đ It̃ sacristis xij đ It̃ ꝑ ornac̃oe cathedre ep̃al iiij đ It̃ in ligno pro stallis iiij đ It̃ in denar̃ c̃oibꝫ xviij đ Itm̃ custodi choristaꝝ iij s̃ iiij đ. Sm^a xj s̃ vj đ.

Sm^a to^l' Expensaꝝ vj l̃i xiiij s̃ x đ ob̃ Et sic Recepta excedūt expensas xl s̃ vj đ ob̃ ad usū Ep̃i.

[a] These were small wax tapers carried in procession by the boys in the Boy Bishop's train, or by his so-called "clerks."

# SPEECH

OF

# SIR ROBERT HEATH,

ATTORNEY-GENERAL,

## IN THE CASE OF ALEXANDER LEIGHTON,

IN THE STAR CHAMBER, JUNE 4, 1630.

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EDITED,

WITH A PREFACE BY THE LATE JOHN BRUCE, F.S.A.,

BY

SAMUEL RAWSON GARDINER,

DIRECTOR OF THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

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PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.LXXV.

# PREFACE.

## LEIGHTON'S CASE.

THE particulars of Dr. Leighton's life are scanty and doubtful. He is said to have been born in Edinburgh about 1568. After having taken orders in the Scotch Church, and holding a professorship of moral philosophy in his native city, we are informed that he proceeded to Leyden, studied physic there under Heurnius, and obtained the degree of Doctor of Medicine. He then returned, as we are told, to his former profession, and officiated as a clergyman in London, until his political zeal urged him to the composition of the book[a] which became the source of his melancholy celebrity. It is entitled "An Appeal to the Parliament, or Sion's Plea against the Prelacy," and is a quarto volume of 179 pages. It is evidently the production of no ordinary talent, and, being written in a tone of fervent and bigoted zeal, was eminently calculated to advance the cause of Antiprelacy amongst enthusiasts. In every page may be traced the workings of a bold and vigorous intellect; the style is energetic and commanding, full of illustrative comparisons, many of them historical, many the produce of a fertile imagination, but by far the greater number derived from that storehouse of Puritanical illustration, the Old Testament.[b] Impressed with the opinion that Prelacy as an establishment was not founded on the doctrines of

[a] His first book, "*Speculum Belli Sacri*," was printed in 1624.—S. R. G.

[b] References to Bacon's "*Wisdom of the Ancients*" occur.—S. R. G.

Christ, and animated by an intense aversion to everything that bore a shadow of similitude to Popery, his heated imagination distorted whatever was presented to his mind, and, right or wrong, converted it into a cause of offence against the Bishops.

The work is, in form, an argument to prove that "the Hierarchy and their household stuffe" constitute the capital sin of the nation, that is, as he explains it, "a sin established by law, and the main cause of all the evils which had befallen the nation." In illustration of this assertion he lays down ten positions, and proceeds to what he terms prove them *seriatim*. In the course of his argument history, whose fate it is to be quoted by all parties in favour of their peculiar doctrines, is ransacked to form a catalogue of woes, all which are either directly or indirectly made to tell against the hierarchy; no villany executed in times past, no folly practised at the time in which he wrote, but is laid to the charge of "the prelates and their apprentices." National calamities and personal misfortunes, "the groanings of the brute and senseless creatures under murrains and wastings," the cowardice of our "formerly feared seamen," the visitation of the plague, the high price of provisions, and even personal fopperies, and the extravagances of female apparel, are all equally attributed, and with a perverse ingenuity endeavoured to be traced, to the existence of an Anti-christian and Satanical prelacy. Having established his ten positions to his own satisfaction, he urges the Parliament to remove the national sin of prelacy, and points out for their consideration six means of removal. He is peculiarly energetic in entreating the Parliament to bestir itself in this holy cause, and strongly condemns that lukewarmness in men of place which would make them leave "God to do all the hard work by himself, and then they would come and gather up the spoyle." It is perhaps worthy of remark that he throughout speaks respectfully of the King. In his censures

of state policy all blame is thrown upon the Bishops, and it is concluded that if all who love the Lord, especially men of place, would do their part in the removal of the hierarchy, the King would be "as an angel of God in this particular."

The Queen is not so well treated; there are, however, but few passages in which she is alluded to. I shall extract one, not merely as a specimen of his style, but as it contains the allusion to Her Majesty, which was made one of the most serious articles of charge against the author before the Star Chamber.

"After the death of Queen Elizabeth all the good had great hopes of a Conformity of Church Government to the Rule of Christ; a great many Ministers and people set themselves to maintain and sollicite the Cause of Christ. But the subtile Tempter, namely, the Hierarchy, did so winde itself, like the Ivie about the vine, that they drained out all his spirit of Reformation (if he brought any with him); yea, they suggested to the eye of his apprehension such a bewitching Phantasm of Pleasure, Profit, Honour, Applause, Admiration, Absolute Government, and Absolute Libertie to do what he list, to arise from the Maintenance of an Honourable Clergie, that he conceived them to be the bravest ornaments and fittest instruments for King Craft that were in the world.

"Again they filled his eares with forged Reproches of the Government of Christ, taking opportunity to strike upon that Jarring String of his sometimes exasperated Conceit.

"They further buzzed into his eares the danger of exasperating Papists, if he should comply with Reformation.

"Lastly, they so plyed his deluded Disposition with evil Instruments and mercenarie men, that he must hear nothing nor bear nothing but the wilde Grapes of Episcopal Conformity; whereupon they grew so insolent that they added Violence to their Malice, abusing the King in that (besides his pleasure and Command) they tooke away the Sheepheards and schattered the Flocks, and so to our great griefe we were disapointed of this point of our Expectation.

"Another Ground of our Hope was, that Magnanimious Henry (whom we do not name to minorate the Parts of our present Soveraigne), whose Heroick Parts and Princely Cariage were not only a Terror and Admiration to Forrains, but they were also both feared and envyed by Papists and Prelats, whom he could never endure. But our Sinnes and our Enimies' Malice caused the Summer set upon our faire Rose before we were aware, and so that Anchor came home.

"A third thing we looked for was the Removall of the former Favorite, which the Lord effected: But instead of a Thistle he sent us[a] a Bramble, because we were no better worthy.

"A fourth thing that we much importuned God for was the breaking of the Spanish Match and our Princes safe Returne from Spaine; God in mercy graunted both; but we were so unthankfull for both these in a right manner, and brake up our watching over him for a better Helper, that God suffered him, to our heavy wo, to match with the Daughter of Heth, though he mist an Ægyptian.

"5. When all things were so farre out of frame that we are becom the Prey of our Enimies, the Mokery of our Friends, a Shame to ourselves, and the Footestoole of a Favourite, then nothing but a Parliament, Oh! a Parliament, would mend all: But Parliament we had after Parliament, and what was amended? Your Honours can best tell who departed the Howse, at the Prorogation, in so heavy a moode, as though ye had been led Captive by some Conqueror of the State. For that overswaying Evill, on whom all Reformation trenched, caried all Opposition with so strong a hand, that he and his, the basest of whom durst brave the Parliament, were thought too hard for the State: But him also hath God cutt off, and what would we have more? Surely we may looke for good, but evill shall come out from the presence of the Lord, till

[a] In the MS., in which the quotations are not in Mr. Bruce's hand, we have "sit us with." I have corrected it from the copy in Dr. Williams's library, the paging of which is quite different from the one quoted above, and which is dated thus: "Printed in the year and moneth wherein Rochell was lost." It must be the original edition, as the pages correspond with that mentioned in Heath's speech.

we hit the right vein, as our Services are like Cloudes, with raine, so the Lord's favours will prove to us as the morning dew.

"But what is the Ground of all this failing of our Hopes? Even the suffering of this Cursed Ground of the Hierarchie to bring forth so many Brambles: (under favour) if ye had begun at this Ground, your work in all reason had gone better with you. Therefore to the Use: which is the last particular of this point: arise now, and do it: The right way to the Work of Reformation is to begin with the Sanctuary, as Ezechia and Josiah did: the inner Court of Christ's Temple is first to be measured, before the outward Court of Policy." pp. 92—95.

The assassination of Buckingham is frequently alluded to, and always considered, as in the above passage, to have been a judgment of the Almighty. Felton's knife is represented as the instrument of God's vengeance. It was the "Lord of Hosts" who made that great Goliah to fall unexpectedly, p. 88. It was "The Lord who smote."

Laud is several times alluded to, but always enigmatically. In each of the following passages he forms the subject of a pun. At p. 36, when referring to the persecution of the Lollards, Leighton affects that Archbishop Arundell and his crew vowed and sware that "he would not leave one slip of professors in the Land." "Some of the same descent," he adds, "'*to their little Laud*,' have said little less of the Puritans." Again, at p. 118, the Bishop[a] is referred to as "the little good prelate."

Towards the order of Bishops Leighton has no mercy. There is scarcely a term of reproach that is not somewhere applied to them. They are "men of blood"—"knobs and wens and bunchy popish flesh,"—they are "Antichristian and Satanical"—"Ravens and Pye Maggots that prey upon the State"—"the trumpery of Antichrist," and, although not exactly Popish Bishops, "they

[a] Archbishop in MS.

are garments cut out of the very same cloth. A pair of scissors went but between them. Only diverse hands have cut them out."

"What a rabble of officers, as Chancellors, commissaries, archdeacons, and others, keep they for the emptying of the People's purses, and filling of the land full of all manner of sinne, as Swearing, Drunkennes, Whordome, Pride, Idlenesse, &c.; witnesse their filthy and rotten speeches, in disgrace of God's people, which we Loathe to name, as also their patronising of sinne, and plagueing of Professours in their Courts; what a numberlesse number of Mothes, Drones, and Caterpillers, they keep in their Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, we are not able to expresse. Some have summed them up to the number of 22,000, or thereabout. What a huge deal of meanes will so many Sharks devour." p. 67.

"They might prove Cedars and Palmes if they were transplanted, but so long as they remain in that cursed feild, as a Reverend man said well, the best proves but a Bramble. In our Later and worser times we see few or none but Brambles planted in that feild. If there be a man of mischief, a mad Railer on the State, a maintainer of Popery and Arminianisme with some new frontispice, affronting by his insolent cariage the great Tribunal of the Kingdome, this man shall be a Lord Bishop, and good enough too, for it is a matter of Lamentation, howsoever many thinke otherwise, that a good man should be spoyled by the place." p. 84.

"Henry the 8 most admired the life of that Subject, who never was so low as to be a Constable, nor never so high as to be a Justice of Peace, so we may say that he is the happiest Churchman, *cæteris paribus*, that never was so low as to be a parish Clerk, nor came never so high as to be a Lord Bishop," p. 85.

Whitelocke says that Leighton was charged with having excited the Parliament to put the Bishops to death by smiting them under the fifth rib. This certainly did not form one of the accusations against him in the Star Chamber, and Neal says that Mr. Pierce

could not find anything of the sort in his book. I have looked through the work carefully, and have not lighted upon that exact phrase;[a] but it seems to me that, although the author might choose to explain away his meaning, there are many passages in the volume to which it is difficult to affix any other than a very sanguinary signification, consistent with the furious fanaticism of the whole work.

"Those mine enemies which would not that I should reign over them bring hither and slay them before me." This is one of his mottoes, and appears not only upon the title-page, but again at the end of the Epistle to the Reader. "Judgment and Execution" against the Lord Bishops is stated upon the title-page to be the object of the book. "Tell Diotrephes if he leave not Lording it over God's house and beating of his household servants—if he give not over his hold—Christ will see Execution done upon him," p. 145. These and other passages of a similar character scattered through the book indicate a fiery zeal which would scarcely have been displeased with any sort of execution against the objects of its hate; but it ought to be added that the author himself disavows any such meaning. "We feared," he says, "they are like pleuretick patients that cannot spit, whom nothing but incision will cure—we meane of their Callings not of their persons, to whome we have no quarrel, but wish them better than they either wish to us or to themselves. One of their desperate mountebanks out of the pulpit could find no cure for us (their supposed enemies) but pricking in the bladder, but we have not so learned Christ," p. 179.

It is not surprising that a work of this description drew the anger of the Court party upon its author. The proceedings against him were commenced by his arrest under a warrant from the High

[a] It is to be found at p. 240 of the original edition, but may be explained as used figuratively: "Strike neither at great nor small, but at these troublers of Israel. Smite that Hazael in the fifth rib."—S. R. G.

Commission Court, signed by Laud. By virtue of this warrant he was confined in Newgate for fifteen weeks, during which time he is said to have been in great misery and sickness almost to death. In the meantime the Attorney-General exhibited an information against him in the Star Chamber, in which various "false and seditious assertions and positions" contained in the book are ranged under six heads or articles of accusation. Some of them are ridiculous enough, as, for instance, he is gravely charged with terming the Bishops "worms and magpies," and with calling the canons of 1603 "nonsense canons." Perhaps it was difficult to extract the spirit of such a work, or to show its character, by the selection of a few passages; but, if viewed as a whole, I think everyone will admit that it was a scandalous libel against the prelacy, and an exceedingly dangerous publication. In his answer Leighton confessed writing the book, but denied any evil intention, his aim, as he asserted, being merely to point out certain grievances in Church and State, in order that the Parliament might take them into consideration, and give such redress as might be for the honour of the King, the quiet of the people, and the good of the Church. The cause was heard on the 4th June, 1630. It appeared that "5 or 600" copies of the book had been printed. The Chief Justice declared that the work was treasonable, and other Lords extolled "the exceeding great mercy and goodness" of his Majesty in permitting the defendant to be censured in that Court, instead of directing him to be questioned at another tribunal as a traitor. All the members of the Court agreed that he had committed a most odious and heinous offence, deserving the several punishments they had power to inflict, and an unanimous consent was given to a sentence which forms an extraordinary commentary upon the boasted "mercy and goodness" of the King. It was adjudged and decreed:—

"That Dr. Leighton should be committed to the prison of the Fleet, there to remain during life, unless his Majesty shall be graciously pleased to enlarge him; and he shall pay a fine of 10,000*l.* to his Majesty's use.

"And in respect the defendant hath heretofore entered into the Ministry, and this court for the reverence of that calling doth not use to inflict any corporal or ignominious punishment upon any person, so long as they continue in orders, the court doth refer him to the High commission, there to be degraded of his ministry; and that being done, he shall then also, for further punishment and example to others, be brought into the pillory at Westminster (the court sitting), and there whipped, and after his whipping be set upon the pillory for some convenient space, and have one of his ears cut off and his nose slit, and be branded in the face with a double S. S. for a Sower of Sedition; and shall then be carried to the prison of the fleet; and at some other convenient time afterwards shall be carried into the Pillory at Cheapside upon a market day, and be there likewise whipt, and then be set upon the pillory and have his other ear cut off, and from thence be carried back to the prison of the Fleet, there to remain during life, unless his majesty shall be graciously pleased to enlarge him."

This dreadful sentence being delivered during Trinity vacation, and after the close of the sittings of the Ecclesiastical Court, the degradation, which was directed to precede the infliction of the corporal punishment, could not take place until the following term. On the 4th of November the degradation was decreed, and the next day, being a Star Chamber day, was fixed upon for the infliction of the cruelties prescribed by his sentence; but on the evening preceding the appointed day, by the assistance of two of his friends, named Livingstone and Anderson, Leighton managed to effect his escape from the Fleet. Dressed in the grey cloak, hat, and breeches of Livingstone, and the doublet of Anderson, the unhappy culprit walked out of the

prison, followed by his friends, and all of them passed the gate unnoticed. Upon discovery of his escape there was immediately issued a proclamation for his apprehension, in which he is described as a man between forty and fifty years of age, of low stature, fair complexion, with a yellowish beard and a high forehead. The good fortune which had assisted his escape soon forsook him, and within a fortnight he was traced into Buckinghamshire and recaptured. On the 26th of November the first portion of the cruelties detailed in his sentence was inflicted in the new palace at Westminster, and on that day week he suffered the remainder of them at Cornhill. Degraded, branded, mutilated, he was conveyed back to the Fleet, and remained there for upwards of ten years. On the 9th of November, 1640, the Long Parliament, upon consideration of a petition presented to them on his behalf, directed that he should have liberty, with a keeper gratis, to go about to prosecute his petition, and that he should be removed out of the common prison, and have the liberty of the Fleet. (Nalson, i. 511.) On the 21st of April a Committee of the Commons, appointed to examine his petition, made their report to the House, and on the same day it was resolved that all the proceedings against him were illegal, he was declared entitled to satisfaction for the various wrongs he had suffered, and was ordered to be immediately discharged out of custody. (Nalson, i. 799.) The tardy freedom which he thus obtained came too late to be enjoyed by him, for it is said that the miseries of his long confinement had so broken his health that when he was restored to liberty he could hardly walk, see, or hear.[a] His subsequent history may be soon told. When Lambeth Palace was converted into a place of confinement for the prisoners taken by the Parliament, Leighton was appointed its keeper, and in

[a] Neal's "History of Puritans," i. 190.

this office is accused of having practised upon those under his custody all the extortions with which his long acquaintance with a prison had rendered him familiar. (Nalson, i. 512.) The unhappy man died insane, but at what time I do not find stated.

The conduct of Archbishop Laud with respect to Leighton's prosecution has been a subject of much dispute. Amidst the heat of the argument the facts have been frequently perverted and lost sight of by both parties. Without entering into the combat, I may perhaps be permitted to notice, 1st, that the prosecution seems to have originated with Laud, who issued his warrant, as a judge of the High Commission Court, for Leighton's apprehension; 2nd, that the assertion that when sentence was passed Laud, standing up in the Court, took off his cap and gave thanks to God, rests upon the testimony of ;[a] and, 3rd, that the remarks stated to have been found in Laud's diary, in which the cruelties of the sentence are recapitulated with a sort of gratulation, and it is added that the second portion of the sentence was inflicted, the "sores upon his back, ear, nose, and face being not cured," are a most scandalous interpolation, and have no shadow of warrant in the original document. I cannot trace this interpolation higher than Rushworth, and imagine that the disgrace of endeavouring by this means to fix a groundless imputation of callousness and barbarity upon Laud rests with him.[b]

Livingstone and Anderson, who had assisted Leighton in his fruitless escape from the Fleet, were brought before the Star Chamber, and sentenced upon confession. "Respect being had to their penitency, they were only fined," says Rushworth, "500*l.* apiece, and committed to the Fleet during the King's pleasure.[b]"

[JOHN BRUCE.]

[a] See p. xxi.

[b] Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 58, ed. 1686.

# NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

The foregoing sketch of Leighton's book was found amongst Mr. Bruce's papers, without anything to indicate for what purpose it was intended. As the Speech of the Attorney-General (State Papers, Domestic, clxviii. 16) is an addition to our knowledge of Leighton's trial, the Council of the Society have thought that Mr. Bruce's remarks might very well serve as an introduction to that Speech, which is here printed from the original in Heath's own hand.

Perhaps a few observations on points which, whatever Mr. Bruce's intention may have been, it did not come in his way to notice, may not be out of place. In the first place, it will be seen that he passes over the statement in the notes of the proceedings in the Appendix to vol. ii. of Rushworth, that Leighton was a "Romish Catholic." It may be presumed that he intended to treat it with the silence of contempt, and no one who has read Leighton's books will be likely to do otherwise.

Mr. Bruce speaks of Leighton as returning, "as we are told, to his former profession as a clergyman in London." He evidently has no certainty on the subject. It is not likely, however, that Leighton undertook the cure of souls. His principles would be against it, and something would have been said about it in the Star Chamber if it had been so. He might possibly have been employed as a lecturer, but I think it is most probable that he

gathered his followers privately. In his account of himself, printed in 1646, *An epitome or briefe discoverie from the beginning to the ending of the many and great troubles that Dr. Leighton suffered, &c.* he tells us that Sir Henry Martin charged him with keeping a conventicle. He denies the charge, but from his form of denial it seems to be plain that he had done what might be termed keeping a conventicle by others. He argues (p. 7), 1. That there is no law against "the performance of such duties;" 2. That it is "a wresting of the law against conventicles, to urge it against the said performances," conventicles being "unlawful and rebellious assemblies." There is no law against "fasting and praying;" "the intent of such as humble their souls being to meet God by repentance, and therefore no conventicle."

Beyond this statement of his own, the only firm ground which we have for this part of his life, except the fact of his publication of the *Speculum Belli Sacri*, is a notice derived from the records of the College of Physicians, published by Dr. Goodall, *An historical account of the Colleges' proceedings against empirics*, 1684. The statement contains no reference to any precise date, but is placed almost at the end of the reign of King James I. It is as follows (p. 401):—

Dr. Alexander Leighton, being required by the Censors to give an account by what authority he practised Physic, he told them by virtue of his doctor's degree which he had taken at Leyden under Professor Heurnius. He was charged as being in Presbyter's orders, and asked why he did not stick to his ordination. He excepted against the ceremonies, yet owned himself a preacher, and acknowledged his practising of Physic. In several parts whereof he was examined, yet giving no satisfaction, and being perverse as to ecclesiastical affairs, he was by the President and Censors interdicted practice. After this, endeavouring to procure a licence, it was denied him, because in Holy Orders, the statutes of the College declaring that none such should be admitted into the College, or permitted to practice; wherefore he was a second time forbidden practice. But he still persisting to practice in London, or within seven miles, was arrested, and afterwards censured *tanquam infamis*, he having been censured in the Star Chamber, and lost his ears.

We may therefore think of Leighton as bearing a double grudge against constituted authorities. The Bishops would not allow him openly to fulfil his duties as a minister. The College of Physicians would not allow him to fulfil his duties as a physician. Whether the College expressed its want of satisfaction with him in the latter capacity on purely professional grounds we cannot say. But no one who reads the *Speculum Belli Sacri* can doubt that Leighton must have felt a calm conviction of his own superiority in any subject which it might please him to handle. Theology, politics, and the military art are there handled by him in the tone, if not with the skill, of a master. He is evidently prepared to take the command of a regiment, or to settle the concerns of a nation, at a moment's notice.

In 1628 Leighton again comes before our view. His *Epitome*, being written many years afterwards, may possibly be incorrect in some details. But it gives the impression of being on the whole a truthful narrative, and for many facts it is our sole authority.

In 1628 then, as he tells us, he was living at Blackfriars. "Some of the better sort, both of city and country, came to" his house "for his advice on the best mode of presenting their grievances to Parliament." Some talked of abating the power of the High Commission, others talked of various details in the administration of episcopal jurisdiction. Leighton, when his turn came, struck in with the proposal of a far more sweeping reform. "My simple opinion," he says, "was right down for extirpation of the prelates, with all their dependencies and supporters." The notion took root in the minds of his hearers, as thorough-going notions often do; and he was asked to draw up a petition to that effect. Having laid down the general heads of such a petition he placed them in the hands of some whom he calls "the godliest, learnedest, and most judicious of the land, both ministers and others." They gave

their approval, some of them being "Parliament-men;" and he obtained five hundred signatures to his scheme.

The next step was to cross into the Low Countries, to put the petition into shape and to have it printed without the interference of the Ecclesiastical Commission. Before this task was completely finished the Session of 1629 came to an untimely end. Two copies were however sent over for the Parliament, perhaps for the two Houses, though these seem to have come too late for presentation.

In July 1629 Leighton returned to England; and on February 17, 1630, he was seized by two pursuivants as he was coming out of Blackfriars' church, which does not prove that he conformed to the Church worship, as he says, in his petition to the Long Parliament, that he was coming from the sermon, and was therefore not necessarily present at the prayers. But, however that may be, he fell into the hands of the High Commission, and was thrown into Newgate, into a cell which he describes as "a nasty dog-hole full of rats and mice."

The third day he was examined by seven or eight of the High Commission. Sir Henry Marten spoke civilly to him. Leighton took high ground and refused to answer the Commission at all, as not being legally empowered "to meddle with the body or goods of the subject." As soon however as Marten consented to waive that point and asked him to "spend some time in discourse with him," Leighton consented. They had some talk about the nature of the supremacy, and then they fell upon the usual arguments about episcopal superiority. Sir Henry, according to Leighton, quailed before the weighty syllogisms launched at his head, and could find nothing to say against them. At last, after some further talk about conventicles, Marten compassionately looked at the poor man, his "countenance, through long fasting, beastly lodging, and other afflictions, looking very pale." "The tears,"

says Leighton, "rushed into his eyes, and he asked me what I would have; if I would drink any wine. With thanks I answered, No; and so they departed."

"Awhile after," Heath, the Attorney-General, came to examine him, and Leighton at once declared his willingness to answer an officer coming in the King's name. He said that he saw nothing illegal in his book, and desired to "go upon sufficient bail, and so to come to" his "answer." Heath replied that this was reasonable, but added that "the King was very desirous to know the author," and that if he would give information the King would take it well; "yea, if it intrenched upon" himself, he "should find as much favour as" he "could wish." Leighton said if the King would "lay a particular command" upon him he would tell him all that he knew about it, and, when Heath returned with such a command, he declared himself "to be the whole and sole author and composer of the book." Heath said that it was reported that he denied the King's supremacy, and, upon his giving an explanation of his opinion on the subject, advised him to set it down in writing for the King. Leighton accordingly wrote as follows:—I acknowledge, *ex animo*, as much dominion and sovereignty to belong unto our King over all his dominions, and therein over all his subjects and causes, as any of the Kings of Judah or Israel had over their dominions and the premises therein, save only in those things wherein they were types of Christ, or had a particular warrant." With this, Heath said, the King was well satisfied. But Leighton was not released, though his wife was allowed to come to him in prison.

Heath's third examination was directed to an investigation into the abettors of the work. Leighton replied "that no living soul had any hand in composing page or line of that book except" himself, acknowledging however that he "was moved by some well-

affected people to frame a draft of their desires to the Parliament then being;" adding, that when he had drawn up a sketch of his argument "it had the approbation and hands of many excellent good people." Upon this Heath urged him, "with many fair promises of liberty," to "give up the names of those approvers." Upon Leighton's refusal, Heath began to be rough and to threaten him "with the rod."

It would be unwise to put too much trust in Heath's gentle bearing till he came to this special point. But, if we compare the demand for further information as to the abettors with the closing words of Heath's speech as now printed, it is evident that there was a real and anxious desire on the part of the Government to know something more on this head, and that in estimating the reasons of the Court for the savage sentence which was passed by it this at least must be taken into account. For it was on the refusal to reveal his knowledge of his abettors, and not on his libellous expressions, that Heath grounded his demand for Leighton's corporal punishment.

Dr. Leighton's book, in fact, was more than a libel. It was the resuscitation of Presbyterianism. As an active force in the English ecclesiastical and political world, Presbyterianism had been dead and buried for many a long year. The idea of a Presbyterian Church order and discipline existing by divine right, and imperatively calling upon the King to lend to it submissively the force of the secular arm, had died away. It is not the place here to inquire how far the King and his advisers were responsible for its revival, or how far the growing ideas on the hierarchy were responsible for the renewed vigour of principles which seemed to have been got rid of altogether. But it is certain that the phenomenon could not have been regarded at Court as an isolated one. The House of Commons had met the overtures of the King by proclaiming that

there was only one form of religious belief permissible in England; and now a book was found declaring that there was but one form of Church order permissible in England. A stranger from Scotland standing alone was not dangerous; but he spoke of large numbers behind his back. If such ideas were to spread, it would be dangerous. The danger was a real one; but it was impalpable. One man alone knew who these persons were who had supported them, and that man remained resolutely silent; must not that silence of his have aggravated, in the minds of his judges, the guilt of the fierce uncontrolled words which he had uttered? And so was begun that list of barbarous and inhuman punishments, which did as much to shake the throne of Charles as the exaction of ship-money.

Those who wish to examine Leighton's defence will find it in the book from which these extracts have been taken. It is sufficient here to call attention to the various opinions of the judges in pronouncing sentence. Secretary Coke seems, though the account given is not very clear, to have protested against the assumption that Presbyterianism existed by divine right. Laud spoke for two hours. He said, according to Leighton's account, the book was false, seditious, and inhuman; accused him of blasphemy, high treason, and said that for his *Speculum* King James would have hanged him if he could have been found. The *Speculum*, Leighton goes on to say, had been the cause of his illtreatment by the prelates. James had read the book, and had given order that he should not be troubled. Further, the first Parliament of Charles had promised him a special hearing.

Laud seems to have entered upon a long argument in favour of Episcopacy, and to have defended the conferring of civil jurisdiction upon prelates.

Laud was followed by Neile. "For his calling he protested he had it from the Holy Ghost, and, if he could not make it good, he

would fling his rochet and all the rest from his back, yea that would he." The other Lords, Leighton thinks, were merely passive, though he heard that "Wentworth used many violent and virulent expressions against" him. "A man of eminent quality," adds Leighton, writing of Laud and Wentworth, "told me that the book and my sufferings did occasion their combination; for the prelate, seeing that the book struck at the root and branch of the hierarchy, and Strafford perceiving that the support and defence of the hierarchy would make him great, they struck a league, like sun and moon, to govern, day and night, religion and state." It is not likely that Wentworth would have concurred in this way of stating the matter; but it is by no means impossible that the appearance of such a book may have confirmed him in principles which the proceedings of the House of Commons in the previous year had done too much to foster. Slight as the notice is, we can ill afford to spare anything which sheds light on Wentworth's career during these few years, when so little is known about him. Though he was not an apostate, and even his later opinions had some root in those which he expressed in 1628, there cannot be the slightest doubt that, as a whole, there is a wide difference between the Wentworth of 1639 and the Wentworth of 1628. The key to the riddle is, I believe, to be found in the effect upon him of the claims of the House of Commons in 1629, and of the claims of such men as Leighton. Of course his own personal position would make a difference, and I doubt whether sufficient importance has been attached to the effect of the Irish government upon him, which must have acted upon his mind much as government in India sometimes acts upon the minds of men who start from England with liberal ideas.

To return to Leighton—in his *Epitome* we have the original

authority for the story discountenanced by Mr. Bruce. At p. 78 we find these words:—

"The Censure thus past, the Prelate off with his cap, and holding up his hands gave thanks to God, who had given him the victory over his enemies."

Mr. Bruce does not appear to have been aware of the existence of this book of Leighton's, and it is possible that he had Ludlow's name in his mind when he left the blank at p. xiii. as the statement is given in Ludlow's letter to Hollingsworth, p. 23. But, however that may be, the story now stands on Leighton's evidence: though whether that evidence is to be trusted every reader must decide for himself.

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The Information is for framing, contriving, printing, and publishing of a most malitious, scandalous, libellous, and seditious book, entitled

Attorn. Gen. pl. Alex. Leighton, def.

An Appeale to the Parliament, or Sion's Plea against the Prelacye.

June 4, 1630.

The matter of the book is a bitter invective against the reverend Bishops of this Church and kingdome of England; but this not against ther persons or any personall fault of thers, but against ther functions, against ther calling, against the prelacy.

As in the primitive Church ther was *martirium presbitrorum* and *martirium presbyterii*, and the latter was the most dangerous, soe this strikes at the roote to destroy and roote out all the Bishops and bishopricks, and to introduce a parity, and by consequens an anarchy, in Church government. But this is not all; from them his malice is extended to the person of his sacred Majesty; him he sclaunders in his royall person and in his government.

And this is noe wonder; nay, it were rather a wonder it should not be soe.

To sclaunder and traduce the Kynge by his ministers or in his ministers is all one as without that circumlocution to sclaunder the King himself, for that's the meaning of it in other termes. All libells of all kinds are wicked and odious.

But this is in the superlative degree extreamly wicked and odious; when it sclaundereth the person of the King, of whom they should not think an ill thought; when it disturbeth the peace of the Church and the discipline therof. Other libells have been but *libelli famosi*. This is *liber defamatorius*, a whole volume, a book consisting of 344 pages, and not one discreet and temperate page in it.

*June 4, 1630.* For the matter of the book, it stands upon general parts [?]:

1. That which concerns the persons of the Bishops and ther calling;

2. That which concerns the sacred person and powre of the Kinge;

In both which the defendant is soe exquisitely wicked and malitious as that noe man who hath not advisedly read the booke could imagine the one half those.

This is the true state of the charge.

In the defence ther is noe difficulty; the defendant hath eased me of making proof against him, for he confesseth the whole fact:—

The plotting
Contriving
Composinge
Printing
Publishing
and Spreading
} of the book.

Not of 2 or 3 copyes, but the printing of 600 of them, more then enough to poyson all a whole kingdom.

But, my Lords, is this a free and an ingenuous confession of an errour? Noe, but a proud and arrogant justificacion. *Talis confessio non minuit sed auget errorem.*

I beseech you observe the gradations of his wicked pretences for doing soe foule a fact.

1. He was persuaded in his judgement;

2. He was moved in his conscience;

3. He intended it for the Parliament, but he published it elsewher;

4. He saith he did it with pious ends and intentions;

5. He is soe full of piety that he utterly forgetts charity, and thats the comon fault of such fiery spirits; and another character he hath which fitts men of this mould, they will not swear an oath, but they will abhominably lye; and soe hath he done apparently, for in his answer he denys he scattered any of thes books, and yet uppon his examination he confesseth he dispersed divers of them.

But this, my Lords, I shall confidently say is his owne answere,

us himself swereth it without the advise of any counsell; for, June 4, 1630.
although he had counsell assigned unto him at his request, yet he was not counsellable. If his counsell would have been advised by him, he would have used them; but he would advise them, and drawe the answere himself, and hath put it in without any counsellors' part; which I moved and obteyned for him least otherwise I should have had noe awnswere at all.

Soe, my Lords, you have a charge, and the fullest proof of the charge that cann be: a faire and full confession, and the worst of all confessions, a justification of soe foule a cryme.

But, my Lords, because all sentence of a Court in a cryminall cause is greate or less, according to the quality of the fault and the circumstance thereof, I humbly begg your patiences to open the severall parts and passages of this seditious, libellous booke.

As the parts of the libell are two in generall—

1. The defamation and destruction of the reverend Bishops;

2. The wounding of the honor of the King through ther sides; soe are the passages of his booke of thes two sorts.

That happy discipline of the Church of England by the ministerys of the reverend Bishops, the fathers of our Church, under our gratious soveraign, the true nursing father thereof, and the supreme governour thereof uppon earth, I take not uppon me to make an apology for.

I lay that for an undoubted and undeniable truth.

To make any indeavour to proove it were to wrong it, as if it might admitt a question. I hold it as a maxime, and a fundamentall truth, that it is most agreable to the warrant of the Scripture, to the past and best times of the Primitive Church; and all the reformed churches of Christendome who live under the Presbitrye doe all freely acknowledge that under a monarchye and wher the monarch maynteineth our religion it is the best forme of discipline; and this I shall be bold to affirme, that whosoever lives under a monarchye and would reject the discipline of the Church under the Bishops would, if they durst, reject the government of a kinge and interteyn

June 4, 1630. a populer government; and, if it be a sound argument to argue *ab effectu*, I aunswer, envye itself cann not but acknowledg that God hath blessed their kingdome in that point beyond all other parts of the Christien world. Yet this brainsick man and his complices, whose religion is never to be contented with the present times, hath indevoured, with as much malice as cann be imagined, to defame and to destroy the whole prelacye. He hates them himself, and desires that all men else should hate them, *et quem quisque odit, periisse expetit;* and thes are the degrees he goes by.

And this hatred I may thus distinguish of. It is reall, it is not personall; for uppon his examinations he confesseth for the honour of thes reverend Bishops that he knoweth noe ill by any of ther persons; but ther calling is such as is not to be indured.

To come to the booke it selfe. It is directed to the Court of Parliament in the intitleing therof. And the last conclusion of it is thus:

> High must you soar, but glory gives thee wings,
> Noe lowe attempt a starlike glorye brings.

And this pitch of pride he himself beginns with; for in the preface to his booke, in the first page, he doth arrantly and impudently sclaunder the sacred persons and happy government of his Majesty that nowe is, and of our late soveraign of ever blessed memory, in thes false and sclaunderous words: "We doe not reed of greater persecution, higher indignitie, and indemnitie done unto God's people in any nation professinge the Gospell then in this our island, specially since the death of Queen Elizabeth."

This beginning doth not only bewray his want of honesty, but want of witt, for a half-witted man who had compiled a discourse would in the front thereof have made it plausible, or at least probable, to have gotten the better passage for the rest. But this ignorant man beginns with soe grosse a lye that every man will not only suspect but condemne the rest that followes. In the present

age, wher the grosnes of the sclaunder is manifest, such an impudent lye cann get noe credite. June 4, 1630.

But such a lye put in print may survive the present age, and then noe man cann tell what may be conceaved of.

And we are bound to preserve the honour of our King and Princes, and of the State we live in, not only from the malice of the present times, but of the future ages also. And in the same preface to his booke, however he pretends he hateth not the persons of the Bishops, yet he expresses his love to them in this hatefull manner; he states them men of bloud, enemyes to God and the State, and the prelacye he calls anti-christian and satanicall.

These 2 things I observe to your Lordships in the preface, wherby he ushers in an ill opinion of the State in which he liveth, and a perfect hatred, as himself termes it, to the persons of the Bishops.

From the preface I come to the booke itself, wherin, to omitt a multitude of idle, wicked, and malitious passages, whereof every leaf is full, I have made choise to single out only 14 severall places.

1. The first is page 3d.

That he might the better worke on the consciences of weake and silly men, he layeth this downe as a position, That this is the maine and master sinn which is established by a lawe to maynteyne and continue Bishops.

2. Next to introduce the plausible doctrine of parity in the Church amongst his discontented disciples, and of a parity by consequence a confusion, page 7th, he lays down another position, That all ministers have voyce in counsell, both deliberative and decisive.

3. That he may the better prevaile herein, he indeavours next to bring the persons of the Bishops into contempt by terming them ravens and pye magotts, which prey upon the State. 35. Thes sorts of men have the humility that Diogenes had, he contemned Platoes pride *fastu majore.*

4. In the fourth place he discovers that infinite pride of hart which lurks in men of this stamp, and withall the gross ignorance

June 4, 1630. that cannot distinguish betwene a reverent devotion at the receaving of the Communion and an idolatrous adoration of the Mass, expressed fol. 70, in thes words: "The suggestion of false feares to the King, and the seeking of ther owne unlawfull standinge, brought forth that revived spawne of the beast, kneeling in receaving of the sacrament, for the greater reverence thereto, wherby the Papists had contentment."

5. Then he comes holme[a] to the Kinge himself, and, at the first stepp, he takes uppon him to crye downe the King's powre in causes ecclesiasticall, which, besides the inherent right therof in the Crown, is established by Parliament. See pages 42 and 43. Thus he saith: "That statute 1 Eliz. cap. 1, giving powre to the Queen to constitute and make a commission in causes ecclesiastical is found inconvenient, because abusing that powre given to one or more they wrong the subject, wheras by virtue of the statute powre only ecclesiastical is graunted, yet by letters patents from the King, unsoundly grounded on the words of the statute, they fine, imprison, &c., which is a great grief and a wrong to the subject."

A bold and an ignorant censure of the powre of the Kinge and of the lawes of the kingdome, which he understandeth not.

6. But this is not enough unless with a proud scorne he did deride the ecclesiasticall cannons, which have ther life from the Kinge, terming them, page 63, "nonsence cannons."

7. Next in plaine termes thorough the sides of the Bishops he wounds the honour of the King himself, for, speaking of the Bishops, page 118, he saith this: "They corrupt the King, forstalling his judgment against the good and goodnes."

8. In the 8th place, that he might shewe more despite and irreverence to the person of the Kinge, he speaks scornfully of the person of His Royall Consort the Queen; for, speaking of the mariage of the King, page 172, he saith thus: "That God suffred him, to our heavie woe, to match with the daughter of Heth, though he mist an Ægyptian."

[a] Home.

9. But yet he is not at the hight, but he wickedly and trayterously indevoureth to traduce the Kinge on his very abilitye of governinge. For, page 175, he hath thes words: "Consider then what a pittie it is to all, and an indelible dishonour it will be to you,"—speakinge to the Parliament,—"the State representative, that soe ingenuous and tractable a King should be so monstrously abused by the bane of Princes,"—meaning the Bishops,—"to the undoinge of himself and of his subjects." June 4, 1630.

10. My Lords, one would thinke this wicked man could not rayse his malice to a higher pitch, but he doth it; for a little after, speaking of the late Duke—this sort of people spare neather livinge nor dead—he doth impiously and prophanly give countenance to the barbarous murder of that noble Lord, and irrelegiously termeth it to be God's blowe, and excites others to the like; and wher he ment that second blowe should light, God knowes. His words are thes: "A fourth reason is from God's offring of himself to guide you by the hand, as we have shewed, who by giving of the first blowe hath in mercye removed the greatest nayle in all ther tent, and will not you followe holme?" Page 176.

11. The next thing I shall observe to your Lordships is that which moves a doubt in me, wheather the Jesuits or the Protestants, frayed out of ther witts, be the greatest enimys to a monarchical government. I raise my doubt out of thes words in his book, page 191: "But the Church hath her lawes from the Scriptures, neather may any King make lawes in the howse of God, for if they might the Scripture should be imperfect." Thes words spoken by a discreet man as D. Whitacre was, out of whom he citeth the words, may have a good sence applied to matters of faith and doctrine in religion, for then *sola Scriptura est norma fidei.* But being spoken by Mr. Leighton, who applieth them to Church discipline, they are full of pride and aversenes from government.

12. In the 12th place I shall observe a passage in his booke which will aske some payne to distinguish from a traytor. His words,

June 4, 1630. page 208, are thes: "But put the case that the good, harmless King be a captivated Joash by Athaliah's Arminianised and Jesuited crewe, or a misledd Henry the Sixth dispossest of his faithfullest frends and best counsell by the pride of the French, or a Henry the Third overawed by a divilish dominering favourite, or an Edward the Sixth overpoysed and borne downe from his good purposes to God's glorie and the good of the State by the halting and falshood of the prelats and ther Romish confederats, soe that such a King, though he hold the scepter, yet he sweyeth not the scepter, neather cann he free himself and execute deseignes, because the sonns of the mann of sin are toe hard for him."

Whether this be a language fitt for a subject to speake but by way of supposition of his soveraign, I submitt to your judgments.

13. But next, my Lords, for his commendation, I shall say this, that he is very indifferent, for he speares neather; for, page 202, he hath thes words:—"Our King, counsel, nobles, ministers, and all sortes of people are wofully corruptly[a] by that Romish dross." Now, my Lords, you have your shares in plain termes.

14. But, for the 14th and last thing which I shall observe out of his book, I am soe far from commending him that I cann not forgive him, for in that, like an ingrate viper, he indevors to render the King and the kingdome and the whole nation a scorne and a reproch to the whole world; for, page 269, speaking of our assistaunce to our neighbours of the religion, he hath thes words:—"All that pass by spoile us, and we spoile all that relye uppon us. To omitt many instances which, being too well known, makes us odious to the world, lett us touch upon the last, namely, the black pining death of the famished Rochellers, to the number of 15,000 in 4 moneths, besids thos that had formerly perished, proclaimeth to the world the vanetye, if not the falshood, of our helpe."

Thus stands this defendant convicted, not by a decade of arguments only, as he hath devided his book, but by a grand jurye, of

[a] *Sic.*

severall crymes, whereof every single one wher enough to condemne. June 4, 1630.

Many more of this nature might have been urged against him, but thes are more then enough. And I have not picked thes out at peeces which the context would have explained, or in any sort altered the true sense therof; for I doe professe to your Lordships that I canne not find any sound part or passage in the whole book.

I come nowe to his pretences for an excuse.

1. That he did it out of conscience.

A blind zeale and a misledd conscience are noe excuse for a seditious pamphlett. All the hereticall scismatikes, nay all the traytors in the world, may say the like.

2. That he intended to present it to the Parliament.

This a lay heresye, and fitt to be condemned by this great Counsell; as if it were lawfull or tollerable to sclaunder the King or the Government in Parliament.

The Parliament is a great Court, a great Counsell, the great Counsell of the Kinge; but they are but his Counsell, not his governours. But this also is an irregular and insufferable way, growen too frequent of late, to put all informations, petitions, breviatts intended for the Parliament, in print.

It is but a newe way; it were pitty it should be old. Any man may thus be soon sclaunderd in print.

I humbly move it, and offer it to your judgments, as a fitt thinge to be suppressed for the future.

If this had been brought to the Parliament, I make noe doubt but the success therof would have been the severe punishment of the author: for I find the judgment of Parliament in the like case, W. 2, cap. 33; 2 R. 2, cap. 5; 1 and 2 P. and M.

But not being brought theather but descovered since and nowe brought heather in this great and honorable Court for the composure thereof an epitome of a Parliament; my humble prayer is, for the honour of our religion, for the honour of our gratious and good

June 4, 1630. King, for the honour and peace of the kingdome, for the support of government, that this book may be

condemned,

suppressed;

the authore severely punished for a lesson to others; and, because he hath refused to confess his coadjutors, that he may have corporall punishment, as in Pickering's case, in a round manner, not to be redeemed but by confession of the names of his complices.

# NOTES

OF THE JUDGMENT DELIVERED BY

# SIR GEORGE CROKE

## IN THE CASE OF SHIP-MONEY.

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EDITED,

FROM THE MS. IN POSSESSION OF THE EARL OF VERULAM,

BY

SAMUEL RAWSON GARDINER,

DIRECTOR OF THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

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PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.LXXV.

# PREFACE.

THE notes of Croke's judgment in the Hampden case, for the publication of which the Society has to thank its President, are much more brief than either of the two reports printed in the State Trials, but have the advantage of autograph corrections by Croke himself. The judgment attracted considerable attention at the time as being the first delivered in favour of the defendant. Words inserted by Croke are printed in italics. Words scratched out with the pen are given between brackets in the notes. Croke's handwriting is so minute and illegible that I have had considerable difficulty in decyphering it, but, with the kind assistance of Mr. Kingston, I believe that I have succeeded in interpreting it correctly, with the exception of the figure referred to in note [e] at p. 8.

## The Notes taken of the Argument by me in the Eschequer Chamber the first Saturday in Easter Terme, 14 Caroli, beinge 14th Aprilis 1638.

Rex versus Hampden.

This is a case of as great consequence as ever came judicially into any Courte, therefore it behoveth us to be as carefull in delivering judgement in it. I have deliberately scanned what hath beine said of both sides at the barre by the counsell. I have considered maturely of what hath beine delivered by my brothers; uppon hearing of their grave judgements I endeavoured as much as in mee lay to conforme my owne opinion to theirs, much suspecting that my owne judgement was not guided aright when I heard them all judicially uppon their oathes give their judgement against my single opinion. Yet, because every one hath a private conscience to satisfie and give accoumpt of to God, I cannott be swayed by any thing that hath beine yet saide to give my judgement with the multitude; but in my opinion judgement ought to be given *for*[a] the *defendant*.[b] However, when judgement shalbe given in this Courte one waye or other, myne and all other men's judgements and consciences must be regulated accordingly; but to shewe that judgement ought not to be given against Mr. Hampden, I shall deliver my reasons, *which shall stand upon these*[c] *po*[*sitions*].

1. That the writt of 4° Aug. directed to the sherife of Bucks to provide a shipp, with munition, &c.,[d] *at the charge of the inhabitants of the county*[d] and to rate *them*, &c., is against the common lawe, *for that is not by assent in Parliament.*

2. That it is against diverse stattuts.

[a] [Against.] [b] [King.]

[c] Letters which seem to be the beginning of "grounds" struck out here.

[d] There is no caret to show where this insertion comes in.

3. That[a] no pretence of *prerogative, royall power*, necessity,[b] *or danger, doth or* can make it good.

4. That it is not warrant*ed*[c] by any presidents vouched, especially not by *any* one recorde judiciall; *but rather in my understandinge expresse records against the legality of these writts. To examyne the parts of this writt.* To examyne the parte of this work.

5. That the motives of the writt are not sufficient to lay *this*[d] charge *uppon the county, and are not warranted by former presidents.*

6. If they were, yet the command of the writt is against the lawe.

7. If the *writt*[e] were legall, yet the manner of assessment by the sherife *as it is certifyed is* not warrant*ed*[f] *by the writt.*

8. That the cerciorare *and sci*[*re*] *facias* issued not *out* legally, *and so consequently no judgement can be given agaynst the defendant thereupon.* The mittimus is that *the*[g] *barrons* shall *proceed*[h] secundum legem et consuetudines Regni Anglie; *so* wee are not to judge here according to conveniency or state policy, but according to the common law[i] *and custome of England we are to judge.* Wee fynde in our bookes, recordes, or stattutes; if wee cannott fynde it to be lawe by these wee cannott judge it to be lawe. Therefore Mr. Litleton, sect. 108, discoursing uppon the Stattute of Merton, saies that wee shall never intende that to be lawe which never was putt in ure, and uppon which no action hath beine brought. This reason aplyed to our case induces mee to conceave that this writt is not *agreable to the* comon law, because before this tyme there was never any such writt to charge a county.

The comon law of England settes a freedome in the subjects in respect of their persons, and gives them a true property in their

[a] A caret is inserted here, evidently by mistake.
[b] [as this writt is.]
[c] [able.] [d] [a.] [e] [charge.]
[able.] [g] [wee.] [h] [judge.]
[i] [if we fynde it to bee lawe by these which.]

goods and estates; soe that without their consent (that is to say their private actuall consent or implicyte in Parliament) it cannot be taken from them. And as to this purpose the lawe distinguishes betweene bondmen,[a] whose estates are at their lords will and disposition, and freemen, whose property none may invade; for in our case here is a charge layde uppon the free subject without his consent, and therfore not warranted by the lawe. Lambert saies no unjust taxation nor any other tallage may be layde on the subject. 17° K. John, the King saies, nullum tallagium, nullum scutagium, nullum auxilium, &c. without common consent in Parliament. Fortescue, Chancellor and Cheife Justice of England in Henry VI. tyme, that knewe well the lawes of England, in his booke De Laudibus Legum Anglie, &c. fo. 25, 9 chapter, saies that the K. of England cannot alter nor change lawes of England at his pleasure, for principatu nedum Regali sed et politico ipse populo suo dominatur. If his power were royall onely, then he might change the lawes, tallagia quoque et cetera onera eis imponere ipsis inconsultis; but addes that the K. of England sine subditorum assensu leges mutare non potest, nec subjectum populum renitentem onerare impositionibus peregrinis; and in his 13 chapter, fol. 31, he compares the K. and Comons of England to the head and body naturall: Ut non potest caput corporis phisici, nervos suos commutare, neque membris suis proprias vires, et propria sanguinis alimenta denegare sui, nec Rex, qui caput corporis politici est, mutare potest leges corporis illius, nec ejusdem populi substantias proprias subtrahere reclamantibus eis, aut invitis. Thus he in this place; but in fol. 84 he seemes to saye, in hoc individuo Rex Anglie nec per se nec ministros suos tallagia, subsidia, aut quævis onera alia imponit ligiis suis *aut leges eorum mutat aut nova condit sine concessione vel assenssu totius regni sui in Parliamento suo expresso;* which wordes seeme generall, that in no case he may doe it; so the yeare booke of 13 H. IV. 14,

[a] "And slaves" deleted, afterwards "freed and" inserted before bondmen, but deleted.

shewes that a small charge of 1*d.* cannot be layde on the subject in generall but by Parliament; yet the lawe allowes in some private cases, where there is a small charge layde, soe as there be apparent particular benefitt to those that are taxed, that a charge may be layde, as the cases of murage and pontage, and the case of 5 Reporte, 54, Clarke's case, where townes by bye lawes *made betweene*[a] them may lay charges and rate one another toward the better government of the towne; but in these cases the tax must be very small, and if the murage or pontage be too great the judges shall judge of it and dissalow it. Soe in the Register, 127, uppon an inundation of the sea uppon the inland marshes, the King may awarde a commission to compell those who are within the danger to repaire the banks, and lay a proportionable charge to keepe out the sea. So may the Commissioners of Sewers doe, 10 Report, 142. But in these cases there is a particular actuall losse repaired or a particular benefitt, and these are but in petty trifles; and in such cases the comon lawe may allowe it, Quia de minimis non curat lex. But in our case there is a publique generall charge throughout counties, which the lawe will not suffer.

Ob[jection]. But it hath beine said this charge is for publique defence; and may not this be done when every one hath advantage by it?

A[nswer]. Yes, there may be a charge, and there ought to be a publique defence, but this must be done in a due and ordinary way, s[cilice]t by Perliament, in which the subject may give his consent. In 14 E. II. rot. 60, in B. R., there it appeares that the Scotts had invaded Durham; the inhabit[ant]s compounded with them for moneyes, and gave hostages for the payment; hereuppon, because moneyes could not presently be rated and gathered, the towne ordered there should be search made, and where moneyes were founde that they should be taken towards the redemption of the hostages. Hereuppon, moneyes being founde with J. S., they were taken. J. S. brought his action in Durham, and there judgement was given for

14 E. II. rot. 60.

[a] [layde uppon.]

him. But afterwards comeing into the King's Bench by error, the judgement for him was reversed. The reasons on recorde are,

1. Because he had his remedy over against the inhabitants;

2. Because his particular assent to the ordinance did appeare, soe that, tho' he were afterwards unwilling, yet haveing once consented his goods might be seized. By which it seemes that if he had not particularly assented at all, that such an ordinance would not have beine good to charge him by the law, though this were a cause of danger and defence.

The notable roll of 2 R. II. pars 1°, proves as much, which, 2 R. II. pars 1°.
though it be no Act of Parliament, yet it being a recorde uppon deliberacion resolved, showes what the lawe was then conceaved to be, where all the lords and sages considered how money might be raised in a case of imminent danger, such as they all could take notice of, and such as could not brooke the delay of a Parliament, and the King's cofers, the record saies, that they all said, that moneyes sufficient could not be had but by laying a charge uppon the subject, which, say they, cannott be done but by Parliament; and therfore some of the lords themselves suplyed the King with moneyes, and expected a Parliament for theire payment, a case which methinkes is now before us or a stronger; and therfore this charge without Parliament is illegall, and reason it should be so, for otherwise the law would suffer a great inconvenience; for admitt a power to charge 20s. now, it may be as well 20li. hereafter, and no judge to mittigate or controll it. And though justice and mercy shine in our King now, so that wee knowe he will not demaunde but what is needfull, yet the lawe, foreseing inconveniences, will not allowe this charge, least if the King would demande unreasonable charges he might doe it. An example of this inconvenience you have in the Danegeld, which at the first imposition in anno 991 was 10,000li.; the next, anno 994, was 16,000li.; the next, 1002, was 24,000li.; the next was 1007, which was 36,000li.; *the next was 1012, which was 48,000li.* So[a] never but single subsedies *and*

[a] [At first.]

*fifteenes* were used to be granted in Parliament untill[a] 31 Q. Eliz., then a double subsedy and *so double fifteenes* was granted. Afterwards in 35 Eliz. treble subsedyes[b] *and fifteenes* were granted, and *43 Eliz. 4 subsydies and 8 fifteenes.* And yet this is not grevious were it 10 subsedies, because in Parliament.

Tonnage and poundage were granted to this end, *13 R. II., and have contynued ever since by severall grants*, that the King might have moneyes in his purse against tyme of need for extraordinary occasions, *especially for the* defence of *the realme and for guardinge the seas*, as it is specially declared by the stattute of 1st Jac. *and former statuts.* But *it is*[c] sayd that tonnage and poundage is not granted now to the King, *therefore the King is enforced to take these extraordinary corses.*

Ob[jection].

A[nswer].

Though it be not granted, yet I thinke it be taken, and I doubt not but to the same intent and for the same for which it was first granted, which was for defence of the kingdome. Therfore in case of danger and necessity every subject for defence of the kingdome is ligeancie debito, as some records say, and ligeancie sue vinculo astricti, as others speake, se et sua totis viribus et potestate exponere, &c. And in such a case the K. may comande the persons of his subjects, and arrest their shippes to wayte on his for to defende the sea; yet this too, when they go out of theyr countyes, at the K.'s charges. But to comande the subject by writt to builde new shipps or to prepare shipps at theyr charges, or to lay a comon charge on the subjectes[d] *in generall for matter of defence or everydaye* danger, is not warrantable by the comon lawe.

But admitt that the comon lawe *were doubtfull that by any course of prerogative or royall power*[e] this charge *for defence or in tyme of danger might be*, yet the Kings of England, by diverse Acts of Parliament, have given and all[owed] this liberty to theyr subjects, *that they shall not be charged but by theyr assent in Parlia-*

[a] [till 19 or 31 of Eliz.]
[b] [and treble tenths.]
[c] [yow.]
[d] [under a pretence of.]
[e] [allowed.]

*ment,* and have restrayned themselves to exercise this prerogative *or royall power otherwise,* 25 E. I.[a] ca° 5, where the K. grants a tout la comunalty de la terre, that where the subjects had granted ayds towards *his warres* nul tiel manners des aydes, mises, ne prises ne prendrons forsque de comon assent de tout le roialme; saves les ancient eydes et prises dues et accustomes; and what those ancient aydes were[b] is co[mmonly?] knowne, that they were ad redimendum corpus, ad filium primogenitum milittem faciendum, et primogenitam filiam maritandam,[c] which aydes concerne not the subjects in generall but particular and liable[d] thereunto by tenures; so that savinge need not have bene, for the body of the Act extended not to them but to generall aydes of the kingdome. However if this (salvo), as it hath beine objected, would preserve this ayde now in question, yet the stattute made afterwards, De Tallagio non Concedendo, being without any salvo, takes it away, which stattute, although it were very probably argued by Mr. Solicitor to be no stattute because it cannott be founde uppon recorde, yet it allwayes hath beine receaved a stattute, *and all books printed as a statute in force.* And all my brothers that have argued before have *agreed*[e] it to be a stattute in force: and I doubt not but it is a[f] stattute *in force.*

Statt. de Tallag. non concedendo.

The words of this stattute are, Nullum tallagium vel auxilium per nos vel heredes nostros in posterium in regno nostro ponetur seu tenetur sine voluntate et assensu *archiepiscoporum, episcoporum, comitum, baronum, civium, burgensium, omniumque liberorum hujus regni.* A lawe so full that I doe not see how wee can exempte this ayde out of it; a lawe with which Boden, p. 97, saies, in his Republica, the subjects of England[g] *have ever since* defend*ed* themselves against all aydes demanded by their prince, as with a buckler.

[a] Confirmatio Chartarum. [b] [who knowes not.]
[c] [Aydes pur faire fils chevalier et pur file marrier.]
[d] Twice repeated. [e] [allowed.] [f] [one.] [g] [did.]

The statute of 14 E. III., ca. 1, the King in playne words grants that no charge shalbe layde upon his subjects without their consents in Parliament. A stattute so clere that they who have argued have endeavoured to give it this answere, by making it a temporary stattute, intended to last but during the King's life; which answere, in my judgement, cannott stand with the wordes of the Act, for, had the King intended it should last no longer then during his owne life, to what purpose doth he grante for him and his heires?

The stattute of 21 E. III. gave the King a certaine new tax uppon *packs of woolls and wool fells*[a] *and goods transported beffor Michaelmas*,[b] and uppon marchandize *6d. in the pound to be imported beffore Michaelmas.* The King by proclamation, [31[c]] *October, after added a further tyme until Easter;*[d] which afterwards, in 22 E. III., was dissallowed in Parliament, but the former tax till a further tyme.

The stattute of 4 H. IV. num. 28, the Commons granted subsedies to the King for defence of the kingdome, with this caution, that they should not be drawne into example, &c.; which caution was added to no purpose at all, if the King might of himselfe comande them by writt.

13 H. IV. num. 10. That a charge should not be layde uppon the subject, ne pur defence del roialme, sauns Parliament.

13 H. IV. num. 43, the King erected an office of aulnager to mesure clothes, and annexed a fee of one penny to be paid him for the mesuring of it. The office was for publique good, yet, because there was a charge uppon the subject by it, though it were but a 1*d.*, yet in Parliament putt downe and dissalowed, as against the lawe.

2 H. IV. num. 22. There, in hoc individuo, a commission was awarded to diverse townes to provide barringers for defence, the

[a] [for a tyme.] [b] [added 6d.]

[c] The figure may just possibly be 31, and, as this is the figure in the second Report in the State Trials, I have so printed it. But it is impossible to say what it is.

[d] The following word "more" should have been erased also.

comission was complayned of in Parliament, and declared to be of no force.

The stattute 1° R. III., ca. 2, 'tis enacted that henceforth no benevolence or such like charge shalbe imposed on the subject but in Parliament. Note this; *no such like charge.*

Lastly, the concluding lawe is the Act of 3 Car., where a comission was awarded in which as many causes to levy money were recited as are in this writt: as the safegard of the common wealth, want of moneyes for public defence, &c. Yet, uppon complaynt and petition by the Commons, this comission was called in; and in the Petition of Right all these stattutes (saving the stattute of 14° E. III.) are particularly mencioned. And though it hath beine conceaved that that stattute was not in force, because not mencioned there, yet it is to be noted that there was in their petition wordes which may include this stattute of 14 E. III. (as diverse other stattutes); so that, notwithstanding this conjecture, that may remayne a lawe in force, all those stattutes which were included in the Petition of Right being confirmed, by which confirmacion the King granted nor allowed of no more then was formerly given by the old stattutes, as all the judges did then declare in Parliament. Soe that, because wee ought to judge according to the intention and meaning of these stattutes, I conceave that the law makers did intende to restrayne the King to require any aydes but in Parliament; and therfore, in my opinion, this writt is against diverse stattutes.

But it hath beine objected that first here is an extreame necessity and danger, and will you the King stay the delay of Parliament before he can comande aydes for the defence of the kingdome in such an imminent perrill. Objection

I answerd that the King is not lefte by lawe so naked that he may not comande aydes and helps from his subjects in such a case of necessity; for there are two sortes of aydes, there is an ayde by way of imposition of a charge, and there is an ayde by way of personall attendance. The King in such a case of danger may comande the persons of his subjects, and their shipps too, to attende An[swer].

his shipps in any place to defende the sea, and they must obay and performe ther personall defence; but to lay a charge to provide new shipps, that he cannot doe.

Scott Roll. 10 E. III. m. 2. 10 E. III. m. 16. Alm. 12 E. III. m. 12. 13 E. III. m. 13.

That he may doe the one is prooved by the precedents vouched. Where the invasion of enemyes appeared the King appoynted 2 admiralls for the defence of the sea, and comanded the navies of Ireland to attende them, and comanded all the shipps of his subjects throughout the realme to be arrested for his service; and this without question the King may doe.

Rott. voyagii.

1° H. IV. m. 12. A writt issued to all officers showing an instant danger to putt men in armes, and to bring them ad custodiam maris; the clergy were not exempted, because the danger concerned all.

5° H. IV. 3° H. VI. m. 27. The King, reciting that there were great navies at sea ready to assault him, comanded the admirall omnes naves portuum congregare.

That which is done by K. H. VII. in the 10th of his raygne, uppon credible informacion of an intended invasion, was but to keepe wach and ward, to cause men to be in armes, and in readinesse for defence.

4° H. VIII. pars 2°. The King by proclamation comanded that all men from the age of 16 yeares to 60 should be in armes.

So that, this power being in the King in such a case of danger, the objection and fancy of a suddaine surprizall irremediable will not hold, and indeed these are those aydes which the King by writt may comande out of Parliament; which, though it be a great body, and mooves but slowly, yet anciently it was kept twice a-yeare; and by the stattute of 4 E. III., ca. 14, it was enacted that a Parliament should be held every yeare, uppon which ground also the law doth not feare a suddaine danger so unavoydable but that it may be prevented by Parliamentary aydes.

But it hath beine further objected that this is an inherent prerogative in the crowne, which the common lawe preserves inviolable. Ob[jection].

If it were a prerogative royall in the crowne, which the law sees to be so, God forbidd but that wee should mayntayne it. 'Tis part of our oath to preserve the King's prerogative entire, but the lawe doth not judge this a prerogative in the King; for the law saies that the King can doe no wrong to his subjects, as they can doe no wrong to him; for, Com.[a] 246, Tort ne poet este fait al Roy.[b] Therfore also, 10 Rep., Hoc tantum Rex potest quod de jure potest. And in 11 Rep. col. 72: Hoc tantum Rex non potest quod non potest injuste agere. And 21 E. III. 47, to the same purpose. Soe that that which the King would doe, if it be against the comon lawe or stattuts, the lawe doth not judge to be a prerogative in the Kinge. Ans[wer].

By the stattute 31 H. VIII. royall power was granted to the King to make lawes by proclamation, but the stattute of 1° E. VI. tooke it away.

But it hath beine againe urged that the King in this case doth nothing but more majorum, and that he treades onely in the stepps of his auncestors. Ob[jection].

If it were so, I might answere that judicandum est legibus non exemplis, for consuetudo errori non prebet patrocinium, specially since the records and presidents are not judiciall or setled uppon debate of judges, but onely things acted and passed over in silence without dispute; and our bookes are that by such recordes the judges ought not to be much swayed, as 4 Rep. fol. 94, is; yet in my opinion, uppon viewe and serious reading of all the presidents, I doe not fynde one where there is any power given to any sherife to charge a whole county to provide a new shipp, specially to any inland county. An[swer].

[a] Plowden's Commentary.

[b] *Sic;* but the argument requires, as it stands in State Trials, iii. 1161, that the King can do no wrong.

Ob[jection]. To this assertion the Recorde of 1° R. II. num. 12°, is objected against mee, where there is a command to inland townes to make barringers at their owne costs and charges.

An[swer]. To this, I answere that uppon the beginning of this King's raygne there were some townes who came to renewe their charters, and in consideration that this might be done without paying any fine in Chancery they were comanded to make this provision; yet this was but to townes, not to any county. I shall therefore runne over the records shortely; for I have read and taken notes of every one that was brought mee by the counsell of either side.

Presidents.

First then the recordes of—

| | |
|---|---|
| Temp. Joh. 6° & 9° & 14° & 15° Joh. m. 4°. | Here was a comande to arrest shipps for the King's service, comanding them to attende further direction, and to the cinque ports to have shipps in readinesse. |
| 14 H. III. m. 4.<br>28 H. III. m. 7, and others. | These writts were onely to the port townes to attende beyonde 40 dayes, to which they were bounde by tenure for necessity sake, but not to any inland, however not to any county. |
| | Temp. E. I. |
| 23 E. I. m. 77. | This was to sea townes to build shipps indeed, but it was ad sumptus regis, and accordingly they built them and had allowance for them in the Exchequer. |
| 17 E. I. m. 5.<br>24 E. III. | These were onely to the sherifes of diverse counties, ad congregandum homines, and to attende further comands. |
| 24 E. I. rot. 62.<br>24 E. I. m. 16.<br>24 E. I. rot. 78. | Some of these writts were to the sherifs to bring men ad costerum maris defendendum; some to bishops, to provide men to attende direction; and others were onely an arraye. |

25 E. I. m. 12. This was ad congregandum et arrestandum naves, to the King's use and service; none ever issued to comande any new shipps to be made.

Temp. E. II.

All the presidents of this King's tyme were onely ad congregandum for the King's service, which the King may doe without controversye.

Temp. E. III.

7 E. III. m. 19. This is a comand onely to some townes to have their shipps ready, and to attende the Admirall's comands.

10 E. III. m. 15.
11 E. III. m. 13.
12 E. III. m. 17.
12 E. III. m. 13.
12 E. III. m. 12.
10 E. III. m. 17.

In these writts there are comands omnes naves congregare a Portsmouth, and to provide victuall for 13 monthes; some naves per terram defendendam; some to make contribution to what others were to provide; but all these were to port townes, and not one to charge a county. If there were any 'tis very probable that this comande was the occasion of the stattute of 14 E. III. before mencioned, which followed imediatly, being made the next yeare after the yssuing of these writts. Alm.

And I thinke I may confidently affirme, that before 10 E. III. there was never any comande to provide any new shipps at the charge of the subject. And after the stattute of 14 E. III. vizt.:

28 E. III. m. 6.
26 E. III. m. 5.

There issued a Commission to Dover and the Cinque Ports reciting that there were great navies at sea, to raise beacons et ad congregandas et arrestandas naves for defence; but this was nothing but a commande to have them in readinesse if need were, but no comande to make new.

46 E. III. m. 34. This was to sea townes parare faciendas all their shipps, et arrestare, to come whether they should hereafter be appoynted. The Recordes of 50 E. III. were onely to the counties super costeram maris to be in readinesse, and some comissions of arraies yssued.

In 51 E. III. There indeed the Abbott of Battaile brought a replevine against one for taking his beasts; the defendant avowed because there was an assessment taxed ad defendendam costeram maris at such a place, and that he destrayned for non-payment. The abbott replyed that he founde provision for the defence of the sea at another place; which being founde for him judgement was given for the abbott. In this case, though the abbott admitted that he might be taxed for defence of the sea, yet this doth not prove that a county may be charged. The abbott might be charged to it by tenure or otherwise, &c., for why he was chargeable doth not appeare in the recordes; however, judgement was given for him; soe that this recorde doth not warrant a charge uppon a county.

Alm. 13 E. III. m. 13. This was a command to a maior of a sea towne to be in readinesse with shipps, because the King had notice that some under the name of fisher men did intende to rifle the towne.

Temp. R. II.

In this King's tyme there was no comande to provide shipps but onely to the Cinque Ports ad custodiam maris; and after his raygne never issued any writt to comande any shipps for defence of the sea.

Thus haveing runne through all the presidents, I will now procede to examine the writt it self.

The Examinacion of the Writt.

1. The writt recites, that datum est nobis intelligi, that quidam prædones et marini grassatores did take the King's subjects, marchants and others, and carried them into miserable servitude.

There is no datum est nobis intelligi of any iminent danger to the kingdom, but onely of piratts, which recitall, for ought that I finde, was never putt in any writt by which aydes of shipping was comanded before the tyme; for, when they molested the coastes and hovered uppon the sea for booty, the King usually sent out a few shipps, and scattered them presently.

2. The comande of the writt to the sherife of Bucks to provide a shipp of such a burthen, and to provide victualls for 26 weekes. This comande is conceaved impossible, and therfore against lawe. Therfore,

13 E. III. pars 2, m. 14. — The towne of Bodemin in Cornewall was charged with a shipp. They came and showed they were an inland towne, and prayed to be discharged; and their prayer, being thought reasonable, was granted. Soe in

13 E. III. m. 14, pars — There was the like comande to an i[n]land towne. And, uppon showing that they had no place where a shipp might ryde in, &c., and after inquiry and tryall that they were an inland towne, were discharged. And great reason for it, methinkes, because the thinge lyes not in their power, as if a man be bounde to doe an impossible thing the lawe adjudges the condition voyde.

2. The comande is not only to provide a shipp to attende the King's shipps, but to furnish her with victualls for 26 weekes, the tyme of the rendezvous being within this tyme.

This comande I conceave not warrantable; because, though the King may comande his subjects' persons and shipps for defence, yet, after the tyme of their meeting, the King is to pay them their wages. Now, victualls is part of their wages, which yet must be provided by this comande after their rendevous, which is not legall.

That the souldiers have allwayes beine at the King's pay, and not at the subjects, appeares most evidently by the records of—

Com. 15 Joh. m. 15, m. 13.
16 E. I. 13 E. I.
2 E. III. rot. 16.
18 E. III No. 7.
10 E. III. m. 21.
Alm. 12 E. III. m. 12.
And Claus. 13, E. III. m. 14.

In all which is expressly said or intimated that the souldiers were and ought to be at the King's pay, soe that the comande of this writt, being to levye victualle for souldiers' wages, is not warrantable, and so the writt for this reason not legall.

3. The next comande of the writt to the sherife is to imprison quos rebelles invenerit. This is against Magna Charta, by which every one is free from imprisonment unlesse it be done uppon indyctment or other legall processe.

2 There is no exception of peeres of the realme, but they are so; if they pay not the sherif's rate they may be imprisoned by the sherife. This I conceave very illegall, for a noble man is so priviledgd in respect of person by the lawe that no capias lies against him unlesse it be in case of comtempt. So that I conceave that this writt will not be a warrant sufficient to ground the scire facias uppon, so that that will fall too of it selfe.

Next this certiorare is without president, for it is directed to that sherife who laid the taxe and made the rate, he at the time of the certiorare being out of his office, which he cannott gett againe by this certiorare.

The certiorare, therefore, should have beine directed to the new sherife to have distrayned the old sherife to have made his retorne, and not as now it is.

Lastly, it doeth not appeare in the recorde that the sherife hath provided any shipp to which Mr. Hampden is rated at this 20*s.*, and then he ought not to pay it.

Thus I have to my best power examined the proceedings of this cause, and uppon my reasons and grounds allredy delivered am of opinion that, notwithstanding any thing appearing judicially to mee in this recorde, judgment ought to be given that Mr. Hampden ought not to be charged with this twenty shillings.

(*Indorsed*) Rex *versus* Hampden.
Notes taken of my argument by Mr. Last.

# LETTERS

RELATING TO THE MISSION OF

# SIR THOMAS ROE

TO

# GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

1629—30.

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EDITED BY

SAMUEL RAWSON GARDINER,

DIRECTOR OF THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

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M.DCCC.LXXV.

# PREFACE.

Gustavus Adolphus is a hero of every nation, and it is unnecessary to apologise for the publication of a series of papers which bring him before us as painted by a writer so observant and intelligent as Sir Thomas Roe. The two papers added in the Appendix complete the portrait by strokes from his own hand. I have so recently given an account of the negotiation out of which they sprung that it would be needless to repeat here what I have said elsewhere. But even if these two papers stood alone they would be sufficient to establish the greatness of Gustavus's character. Their weight, firmness, and circumspection stand out in bold relief if they are contrasted with the diplomacy of James and Charles; but I should fancy that they hardly need that foil to attract the attention which they deserve.

A secondary interest attaches to Roe's mission as bringing before us the persistence with which Charles continued to interfere diplomatically on the Continent after all chance of interfering successfully was at an end. Yet, after all, Roe had to complain (p. 83) that in six months he had had no "letter, order, nor answer, nor money." Gustavus would not so have treated his ambassadors.

# SIR THOMAS ROE'S MISSION TO GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

To ordinary minds the winter of 1628-9 would have appeared a most unsuitable time for any warlike designs on the part of the King of England. The surrender of Rochelle in the previous autumn had been the crowning disaster of a long series of failures, and the domestic troubles had risen to such a height that no prudent man would have run the risk of entering upon diplomatic action which might possibly draw him into a war, which, in default of supplies from Parliament, could only end in disgrace and failure. But Charles had at least one quality in common with the nation over which he ruled. He never knew when he was beaten, and we find him in the years which followed the assassination of Buckingham as ready to interfere on the Continent diplomatically as he had been ready to interfere by force of arms whilst his favourite minister was alive.

In this course of action he had by his side till February 1632 the new Secretary of State, Viscount Dorchester, who, as Sir Dudley Carleton, had spent many years of his life as an ambassador at Venice and the Hague, and in two special missions to the court of France. He had thus acquired a considerable knowledge of continental affairs, and from his residence at the Hague and his intimate relations there with the exiled Elizabeth and her husband, as well as from his own bent of character, he had always taken a strong Protestant and anti-Spanish view of the questions at issue. But his absence from England dated from the autumn of 1610, before that winter session which marked the first open breach between the King and the Lower House; and, except for two brief intervals, he did not see his own country again till the spring of 1626, when he found himself suddenly called upon to answer for the Government in the House of Commons, then bent upon impeaching Buckingham. The opposition in Parliament and the nation therefore struck him as something not merely unreasonable but even unintelligible, and he would naturally be of opinion that a decided move in the defence of Protestant interests in Germany would strengthen the Crown in the eyes of Charles's subjects.

Very similar was the position of Sir Thomas Roe. He too had been long absent from England, from 1614 to 1621 in India; from 1621 to 1628 at Constantinople. Though he was geographically further removed than Carleton had been from the centre of European interests, he had by no means stood aloof from the great question of the day. Bethlen Gabor was one of the pieces in the game, and Bethlen Gabor might, it was hoped, be moved in this or that direction if Roe could induce the Sultan to pull the wires. Roe kept up a brisk correspondence with Elizabeth, sent her long letters of news, and received in return not a few of those short, playful epistles with which she knew how to keep up the good will of her friends, and in which she was accustomed to address them by some nickname of her choosing, Roe's special *soubriquet* being "Honest Tom."

Roe landed at Leghorn on August 26th, 1628,[a] on his way home from Constantinople. Travelling leisurely across the continent, he fell in with Carlisle,[b] who was coming back from Turin with the notion, that, as Spain and France were coming to blows in Italy, the Palatinate might perhaps be recovered with Spanish aid, thus renewing in 1628 the policy which had failed in 1622. Roe was not likely to share these opinions. He made his way to the Hague before returning home: there he seems to have remained for some time. He had brought a scheme of his own from Constantinople, and with or without the knowledge of the Government at home he made his proposals on the 27th of December to the Prince of Orange, that Frederick Henry who was to do so much for the advancement of his country's power. No name is attached to the following paper, but, as it is in Roe's handwriting, it may safely be attributed to him, especially as there is a reference in the document next following to a statement made by the Prince, which may very well have been an answer to this memorial.

### *I. Memoir given by Sir T. Roe to the Prince of Orange.*

State Papers, Holland. Dec. 27 / Jan. 6 1628-9.

The loss of the free trade of the Balticque sea is more dangerous to the kingdome of England and to the United Provinces then any other prosperity of the house of Austria, being the Indyes of the materialls of shipping, and, consequently, both of their strength, riches, and subsistence. There is no counsell so necessarye and so pressive as the consideration of meanes to preserve it in libertye, which being subjected to the Emperor, the Hans townes must of necessitye submitt to him.

There is no other consideration so forceable to draw those free cittyes to hope of libertye, and to joyne their forces with those who

[a] Roe's Negotiations, p. 826.

[b] Grandison to Roe, December 10th, 1628. *S. P. Dom.* vol. cxxii. 33.

seeke to defend it, as a resolution well grounded and declared to prefer that cause before all other quarrells.

Ther is no way nor meanes so ready and powrfull to effect this, and consequently to give breathing to the afflicted parts of Germanye, as by uniting the Kyng of Sueweland and the Prince of Transilvania, to which they are both well inclined, when they shall see the same affection, and a constant established foundation of meanes to prosecute the warre to one poynt.

Of these truths I suppose no practised man will doubt; but rather in the difficultye of drawing that Kyng and Gabor into such an union, in respect of the war of the first with Poland and the late peace of the other with the Emperor.

To which I say, that their interests are as great as ours, though more remote; that the first desires a peace, which Gabor can help to give, and he, to recover his honor by renewing the war which he hath lost by a forced and false peace. To procure a peace betwixt the Kyngs of Suevland and Poland the authoritye of the Grand Signor of the Tartars and Gabor must be used, and wilbe of great effect.

Gabor hath playnly declared that if the Kyng of Sueveland may be established head of the war that he will joyne with him 25,000 horse upon the conditions for his part already contracted; of all this ther shalbe given both sufficient reason and demonstration, whensoever any doubt shalbe objected.

To initiate this business it is first desired that his Ma^tie^ of England and the Lords the States doe lay the foundation by describing their quota, to which the Kyng of Denmarke will contribute, for the payment of 40,000 doll[ars] monthly to Gabor, *pro singulis mensibus, quibus militavit,* and to give assured assignation, and to make their meanes appeare to the Kyng of Sueveland and Gabor for the constant payment therof in Venice, and, though this summe seeme great, yet in effect it wilbe easye to furnish, for it cannot be required above 4 moneths, from July to the end of November, for the Prince of Transilvania cannot be longer in the field, and this

duly satisfyed, or deposited intyrely in Venice, will give him satisfaction.

The peace he hath lately made is the first degree of his ruyne; he hath the same desires, ambitions, and feares, which first made him take armes. He hath lately provoked the Grand Signor, who is greaved in this point only by Gabor, to whom alwaies hath beene referred the resolution of peace or war, and in July last an offer made to him of 160 thousand men in his ayd if he saw the opportunitye, or continued to doubt the fayth of the Emperor in the ratification of the peace which, though it be now confirmed betweene the Grand [Signor] and the Emperor, hath so many corruptions in the bodye thereof that it cannot stand nor the Grand Signor rest secure in yt; the articles mutually agreed are not the same and the differences irreconcileable. Lastly, all the ministers of the Grand Signor know and confess their dishonor and disadvantage by this peace, to which they were constrayned to yield by the Asian war, wherein, having now some ease, they wilbe ready to review their accounts with the Emperor, and, having reconciled Gabor, he is able by his arts or by necessityc to engage the Turkes at his pleasure. If a resolution be taken to assure Gabor, it is desired that a speedy course may be used to propose this league, and the conditions and assurances, by an ambassage to the Kyng of Suevland and a post sent to Gabor to signifye the treatye, that his deputies may assist therein: least they both bee engaged in the war of Poland. It is desired by Gabor, that the Kyng of Sweveland may appeare in Silesia, to whom he will obey, and, making the territories of Austria the seate of the war, he offereth to spoyle all the countrye round about and to burne whatsoever is found without the walled townes as far as Bavaria, when he shalbe secured of his retrayct by the King, and to serve him with his horse in all other occasions.

In the meane tyme it is above all things necessarye to send a fleete into the Balticque Sea to prevent the irrecoverable loss of the Sound and to enhearten the Kyng of Denmarke.

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Roe probably left the Hague for England about the end of February, 1629.[a] In March Sir Henry Vane arrived in the Netherlands on a special mission to inform the Prince of Orange and the titular King and Queen of Bohemia, that, though the negociation for peace with Spain was not so far advanced as that with France, "yet in general of making peace with us, restoring our brother-in-law and dear sister to their patrimonial estates, ceasing the prosecution of the war upon our uncle the King of Denmark, and comprising our friends and allies the States of the United Provinces, we have large and ample offers; and, since these things cannot be affected but by one of two ways, either by treaty with Spain or by a war undertaken by France, the small appearance of the latter requires a trial to be made of the former, though never so doubtful, this course being not only now, but at all times to be embraced, what heretofore did not succeed may, by the blessing of God, according to the change of affairs, and the present conjuncture, as it now stands, have better issue." In short, the Duke of Savoy had advertised Charles that he had but to treat with Spain to get his wishes carried out; and to this assurance Charles replied, that he would send a person of trust to Spain and receive one from Spain. Vane was to communicate this to the Prince of Orange and to ask for his concurrence.[b] At the same time the King of Denmark was informed that as soon as Parliament had granted supplies Charles would be ready to assist him against the Emperor.

Not long after Vane left England, Sir James Spens, the usual emissary between Gustavus and Charles, arrived in England, apparently bringing news of the intended invasion of Germany by the Swedish King: "I have spoken freely and largely with Sir James Spens," writes Roe, on March 22nd, "who hath confidently communicated with me his employment, and the heroic designs of his brave prince and master. I dare not venture to discover the particulars, for the danger of Dunkirk[c] and the honesty of his promise, till he hath audience of his Majesty, which is directed for Tuesday next. In general I thought it would be comfortable for your Majesty to know that he will propound the same things which I did at the Hague, and avow me in all I have done here; and his offers are such and so easy and so magnanimous that they are not to be refused, unless we resolve to lie down and only cry, 'God help us.' That King and the King of Denmark have spoken together, and are parted with a perfect understanding and friendship. He hath order here to raise speedily three regiments, and if he prosper in England I hope this is the year of Jubilee."[d]

In the meanwhile Vane, who had arrived at the Hague on March 16th, was proceeding with his negotiation. He found that the Prince of Orange was firmly set against negotiation with Spain.[e] On April 10th, Dorchester wrote to Vane that his Majesty persisted in thinking that it would be well to try to get good terms from

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[a] Elizabeth to Roe, March 2nd, 1629. *S. P. Dom.* cxxxviii. 8.

[b] Vane's Instructions, February 1629. *S. P. Holland.*

[c] *i. e.* lest this letter be taken by the Dunkirk privateers.

[d] Roe to the titular Queen of Bohemia, March 22nd. *S. P. Germany.*

[e] Conference with the Prince of Orange, March 20th. *S. P. Holland*

Spain. But he had little trust in the Spaniard, and merely intended to hear what they had to say.[a] On the 25th Vane was ordered to return to England.[b]

The result of Spens's mission, however, seems to have been that Charles determined to send Roe to the North, and the following paper, probably prepared for Carlisle,[c] shows what Roe's ideas on the subject were. It must be remembered that it was not yet known in England that the dissolution of Parliament on March 10 had frightened Christian of Denmark into the acceptance of the peace of Lubeck.

## *II. Memoir by Sir Thomas Roe.*

State Papers, Holland. Rec. May $\frac{22}{12}$, 1629.

If his Majestie in this employment have any purpose to encourage the Kings of Denmark and Sueveland to continue resolute in the maintenance of that little libertye left in Germanye, and by their help to keepe open the Baltique Sea, and the trades therein, seeing the Prince of Orange gave me authoritye to declare in the name of the States that they would willingly concurre in such a councell or league ; it is necessarye (in my opinion) to communicate at least with them, and to penetrate how farre they will in such a case oblige themselves ; for to proceed without them is a deviation from good correspondence, may occasion a jealousye or envie on their parts, to the hinderance of the good effects, or rayse a suspition in those Princes whom his Ma^tie^ doth seeke to assure of some misintelligence betweene us.

It is very likely they will assist both by their power and creditt, which I am sorrye, but must confesse wee need, and will much advantage the negotiation, especially if they may be procured to send a commissioner, or to write their letters concurrent to their ministers resident with those princes.

The King of Sweden hath lately by Camerarius, and doth now demand the renewing of their league expired for the conservation of the Baltique sea, and doth propose some meanes to pay a third or fourth of his army, which he dessignes for Germany, principally to keepe his horse from disbanding and falling to the enemye, which

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is at this instant in consultation and ready for resolution. So that it seemes the conjuncture doth invite his Ma^tie^ to make himselfe head of the partye, that willingly would obey him.

It will honor his Ma^tie^ among the States that he doth take into his care the patronage of the publicque cause, and will encourage them to subserve to him in that and all other his occasions. And it is very requisite (in my judgment) by some concurrence with them, and application to them, to rayse and redeeme a declined and decryed opinion of our proceedings, and treatyes or the neglect of them.

Without this purpose and way, simply to make a peace betweene Poland and Sweveland is a noble worke and becoming his Ma^ties^ greatnes and goodnes of mynde, but hath a narrow extent of dessigne, and doth not assure nor conclude necessarilye any benifitt to the good cause. For though it pretends the setting-free of the King of Sueveland it doth also enlarge the Pole, who is as much an Austrian as the other is opposite. And if nothing but a bare peace be propounded to the first, and no league, ayd, nor contribution toward his active dessignes in Germany, I may suppose he wilbe content to enjoye his peace, and take example *per aliena pericula*. And I thinke no man can convince me with reason why he should marry our quarrell for charitye and without a dower.

It is very probable that both the King of Poland may be awed to make peace, and the King of Swevia be induced to undertake the protection of the suppressed, by using and applying the meanes of Gabor rightly. And it is in effect no more then the joyning of two leagues in one, for alreadye his Ma^tie^, Denmarke, and the States are in one league, and the King of Sweveland and Holland in another, both to one end, though they worke dividedly and so lesse effectually.

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body, passing from the Palatinat to Hessen, so further to the Princes of Neyther Saxe Creys (of which circle the King of Denmarke was generall), our father of blessed memory, foreseeing in his great wisedome the progresse of this mischiefe, not likely to stay any where at land or sea unles it were stopt by force, used indeavour by our ambassador, Sir Robert Anstruther, to persuade that King to declare and engage himself in that warre, with promise of assistance.

12. Many excuses being made and opportunityes lost whilst there was yet some remainder of strength in Germany to entertayne the ennemy, at length that king, growing sencible of his owne danger, in particular with ruyne of the publike, entred into conditions with Sir Robert Anstruther for the furnishing of a certayne number of men, horse, and foote, or a valuable proportion of money for theyr entertaynment; which he accepting in the King our father's name, and the King of Denmarke therupon taking armes, there was money furnished to a considerable sume by the King our father, and after his decease we continued that assistance partly in money and partly in ayde of men: wee sent in fower regiments under the commaund of Sir Charles Morgan, and of shipping conducted by Sir Sackville Trevor all to the uttermost possibility of our meanes, but chiefly by diversion, sending to that effect a royall fleete against the Spaniard in an enterprise upon Cales, which was performed in the name of our brother-in-lawe and deare sister as a German quarrell, in revenge of the invasion was made by the Spaniard upon the Palatinat.

13. This fleete in returne[a] lighting upon certayne French shipps laden with Spanish goods, and seising them by the right of warre, that seisure being taken in France (though very unjustly and contrary to the treatyes betwixt the two crownes) as a subject of counterseisure of English goods and marchandize in that kingdome, and one accident of offence begetting another, wherupon ensued a warre with that crowne likewise. This deprived us of such meanes

[a] This took place before it sailed. The whole story as told here is most unsatisfactory.

wee would most willingly have contributed to the King of Denmarke; yet upon the whole account of moneyes sent over by Sir Robert Anstruther, others furnished to the Denmarke Ambassadors, some taken up as pawnes, much spent in entertaynment of Generall Morgan's troopes, and somwhat furnished to officers which made leavyes in Scotland, with other disbursements, there hath bene furnished from hence *viis et modis* directly to that warre (besides the vast summes spent by way of diversion of the Spanish warre and the French, which fell in consequence thereof) above 300,000*l.*

14. This we doe not mention by way of discharge, as that wee had fully and totally acquitted ourselves to our deare uncle; but princes so nearely allyed in blood and conjoyned in interest of state are to complye one with another, and, measuring aydes by possibilityes, be sencible each of others condition, and wee need not conceale to a prince so neare us that whereof all the world doth take knowledge, that wee have had our incommodityes at home by the sinister practise of some disaffected subjects, much to the prejudice of our revenue, which wee are in a fayre way to overcome, and therby be the better enabled to assist our friends abroade.

15. Wee may well imagine, and wee have bene so informed, that our deare uncle hath mett with the like inconveniences amongst his subjects, and therunto wee ascribe the want in his army of the numbers of men and necessaryes of warre he made account of and stipulated with his confederates when he entred into armes; the difficulty he made in all treatyes and publique acts to mention the restitution of the Palatinat, which his ministers would never doe, though that were the originall and is indeed the permanent ground of our quarrell with the princes of the house of Austria; and, finally, the refusall of the ratification of the treaty of the Hagh (about which wee employed the Duke of Buckingham and the Earle of Holland in the yeare 1625), unles it were that certayne secret articles which were concluded at the same tyme (wherby our intention was explaned) might remayne unratifyed, which wee could no wayes admitt.

16. This we alleadge not by way of complaint nor for any further

purpose, but for your understanding, to the end that, knowing particularly how things have passed, you may be the better armed with answeares upon occasions, and to this purpose you shall have a writing with you which deduceth the state of these pretended debts and treatyes (specially this of the Hagh, which the ratifications thereof presented on our part totally but defectively on that Kings and the States likewise) more in particular; and you shall have in like manner a proposition made by the Lorde Rosencrantz, that King's last ambassador here with us in December last past, and answeared upon our order by our Commissioners for forrayne affayres in January following, which will give you some further light of that King's demaunds, and how far wee are able to goe for his satisfaction. You are now upon the whole matter so to conduct yourself and your negotiation with that King as, on the one side, not to dishearten him in despayre of our succors, which wee intend unto him to the uttermost of our possibility; and, on the other, to make the King our father's and our engagements otherwise understood then it seemes they are by such assignations he continueth to make over hether upon our Exchequer, as yf a franke and friendly supplye which hath bene heretofore furnished (and shall, God willing, be continued to the best of our ability) were a due debt.[a]

17. One debt wee acknowledge, and the interest thereof, as you will find by the answeare to the Danish ambassador; the other wee neyther doe nor will take upon us; but you are to handle the disavowing thereof cautiously, not to distast that King, nor to suffer the opinion of that engagement to rest upon us.

18. Wee have it advertised, both from our ambassador, Sir Robert Anstruther, and severall other wayes, that there is a treaty of peace very far advanced at Lubeck betwixt certayne Imperiall and Danish Commissioners, and that our deare uncle the King of Denmarke is in danger to be caryed much to his disadvantage (by the interests and feares of his Danish subjects and against his owne princely disposition) to a very prejudiciall peace both to himself

[a] *i. e.* Charles owns as a debt the money lent to his father, not the 30,000*l.* a month which he engaged to pay under the treaty of the Hague.

and his friends and allyes, and, yf you find that peace unconcluded, you may then represent unto him the present change of affayres of Europe, much more to his advantage then of late when the whole burthen of the warre lay upon his neck; a great part of the Imperiall forces being marched towards Italy to the number (as the latest advertisements beare) of 30,000 men, some drawne downe towards the Low Countryes in assistance of the Spanyard against the States' army, which is now in the field more powerfull than ever; others employed about Strasbourg with an eye to the French frontier, upon jealousy of that nation now our peace is made with that Crowne, wherunto, being persuaded by our deare uncle, wee much the more willingly hearkened, to the end that, being freed of that diversion, wee might give him the better assistance, and the French King likewise ayde him according to many promises, which wee are glad to heare doe already begin to be putt in effect by some moneyes newly sent by an expresse minister out of France, persuading that King, the same way as wee have reason to doe, not to make peace dishonorably or disadvantagiously.

19. But, yf you find the peace shutt up and concluded, wee would have you then require a copie of the articles, to the end wee may see how far and in what manner wee are interested, and in all event for satisfaction of our marchants (a people ever subject to feares and jealousyes), not for any distrust wee have of our deare uncle. You are to procure good assurance that in the passage of the Sondt no stopping or seizure shal be made of theyr shipps and goods by way of arrest for satisfaction of pretended debts. And this is the effect of your particular nogotiation in that court, which, though it hath a mixture with the publike as it concernes peace or warre, yet are you to observe how it doth chiefly reflect upon our interest and our subjects to deliver us from undue pretentions and them from unjust seisures.

20. In your jorney further, whether you will begin with Poland or Swedeland wee must leave to your discretion, according to such light you shall gather in Holland and in the King of Denmark's

court, most effectually to advance our affayres; but wee heare the failing of the States' interposition for a peace betwixt those two Kings proceeded in part [from][a] theyr having made theyr addresse to Swede, which by the haughty humor of the Pole was taken in disdayne, and, wheresoever you doe begin, the conduct of this busines must more depend upon [your][b] owne iudgement then upon direction; this being our chiefe ayme in the pacification of those two Kings to open and secure commerce after the ancient manner of treatyes with those Crownes and the townes of Dantzick and Elbing, according as the change of affayres upon the successe of that warre and the pacification you are now to treate will permitt.

21. But this state of affayres of the kingdome of Poland having long rested in these termes, that the King and his personall dependants being governed by the Jesuites, and by them, as active instruments of the Austrian greatnes, alwayes caryed to the advancement of that house, and the chiefe nobility and gentrye of that kingdome remayning opposite to that Jesuiticall faction as maintayners of the ancient libertyes and freedome of that countrey, which they alwayes make appeare in theyr assemblyes when they conveane together by way of Parliament, shewing a good inclination to the profession of our religion, at least to the maintenance of freedome of conscience which the lawes and constitutions of that countrey doe allowe,—you are in your addresses to have especiall regards of such of the nobility as stand that way affected, and in your proceeding in the peace you are specially to have regard to the conditions thereof, that yf they tend by the practise of the Jesuites and theyr partye to the concluding with the King of Swede and withdrawing his assistance from the King of Denmarke or from restoring the liberty of Germany, which he is entered into with so princely a resolution notwithstanding his other engagements by the defence of Stralsondt,—in this case wee, preserving publike respects of state before our particular interests of marchandise, doe not thinke it fitt your endeavors should tend to the advancement of that peace;

[a] "for" in MS. [b] "our" in MS.

but otherwise, yf the King of Swede be left free to pursue what he hath so royally undertaken, wee would then have you goe on in the pacification between those two Crownes according to our first intention.

22. There is a due debt of moneyes lent by the King our father to the King of Poland to the value of 10,000*l.*, the documents and instruments whereof you shall have with you, or at least authenticall copyes of them, to recover it for us, as wee cannot but confesse wee have neede. And, touching the opinions of the easterne trade, wee esteeme it necessary to settle a residence in the dominions of both those Kings (the Pole and Swede), because wee have it informed that our last mart at Elbing was so far envyed that an Act of Parliament was made in Poland that no cloth should be vented in that kingdome unles it were first sealed at Dantzick, which must eyther be revoked by treaty or else another seale established there. This may prove a good inducement to the peace by the benefitt thereof, and gayne unto us many friends.

23. In this treaty the interest of the Marquis of Brandenburgh is to be considered, who hath written unto us that he will assist in it by his deputyes, and before your departure our marchants are to be consulted with how best to advance theyr affayres ; and you may promise in our name to the subjects of both those princes and townes free trade, with theyr wonted good treatment, in these our dominions; and yf you find it objected that theyr shipps are somtymes intercepted in these seas, such as trade into Spayne, you shall require them to understand this rightly, that it is onely to impeache the transport of equippage of shipping and munition of warre into that King's dominion, without the helpe whereof wee are sure that King could not so much trouble the state of Christendome, and whilst wee continue in warre with him this prohibition is agreable to all lawes, naturall, nationall, and civill.

24. There is a Prince in those parts, the Duke of Curland, with whome wee have allyance and particular friendship, in whose favor wee would have you employ yourself according to such informations

he will give you; and you are to have your aspect further into Transylvania, it being very probable that both the King of Poland may be awed to make a peace and the King of Swedeland induced to undertake the protection of the suppressed, by using and applying the meanes of Gabor rightly; and it is in effect a joyning and linking of three leagues in one; there being one betwixt us and the United Provinces for restitution of the Palatinat and mutuall defence, into which the King of Denmarke came by the treaty of the Hagh as accessory; another betwixt the King of Swede and the States for the freedome of the Baltique Sea, about which the Kings of Denmarke and Swede, at theyr late interviewe, did likewise contract an allyance; a thyrd, betwixt the King of Swede and Gabor, who having mett together in mariage in the same house[a] have established betwixt themselves a particular intelligence.

25. All these being to one and the self-same end, though they worke dividedly, yet it may be in one regard more effectually, because, amongst many confederats in one body, by reason of remotenes of place and severall interests, there can seldome fall out a right understanding. You are therefore to use an active industrye to make all these princes co-operate towards the common defence by way of intelligence, since wee find that cannot be which hath bene many tymes heretofore proposed, and now lastly by Sir James Spence, as Ambassador from the King of Swede, by way of union and confederation, wherunto you may make knowne unto that King when you come to his presence, as likewise unto such others as wish well unto it, wee are so far from being adverse, that as the King our father did declare his good liking of it wee should embrace it most willingly; but in this conjuncture of affayres it is more behoovefull, according to former agreements, wee should employ ourselves to the same end, though in severall parts, by present action, then entertayne the tyme in negotiation. It rests onely for your instruction that you take with you such treatyes as have formerly passed betwixt us and such princes, states, and townes you

[a] They married sisters of the Elector of Brandenburg.

are to deale with: wherewith our Secretary shall have commaund to furnish you; and, for such further circumstances as in a charge consisting of so many parts with princes so remote cannot so well be prescribed unto you, you are to take counsell of tyme and place and present occurrences and governe yourself by discretion; advertising from tyme to tyme as you find commodity of sending, and according to the importance of occasions, by expresse messengers, in what state you find affayres where you goe, to the end that in such things as may attend tyme of answeare you may receave our further order.

In all places, at your first publique audiences, our pleasure is you should speake by interpretors; at other tymes wee leave it to your liberty.

DORCHESTER.

Greenwich, this 20th of June, 1629.

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*V. Sir Thos. Roe's Speech at his "First Audience to the States General, by Interpreter."*

MY LORDS,

His Ma^tie^ my Lord and Master having taken into his Royall consideration the present estate of the troubles and desolations in Germany, and having resolved to apply such means as God hath given him, and as in his wisedome he hath thought conduceable to the publicque interest, hath commanded me to visitt and salute them in his name as his good friends and confederates, and to assure you of his constant purpose by effects in all your occasions on his part to nourish this confidence betweene his Ma^tie^ and your Estates; to which purpose he hath thought necessarye to that good correspondence he doth and will hold with you, to communicate freely his intentions, and on them to take your advise and counsell, well-assured of your concurrence in all endeavours for the common cause; and for your better assurance he hath commanded me to deliver unto your Lordships this his letter, to which you may be pleased to

State Papers, Holland. July $\frac{2}{12}$, 1629.

be further referred. And because you know the prejudice of lost tyme I will be bold to entreat you to appoint some Commissioners to heare and to consult with me with such convenient speed as may fitt your great affayres and my hast. Lastly, I shall desire of you to beleeve of me, however, in other essentiall respects, the most unworthy of the honor of this function, yet that never man came hither with more honest and zealous affection to the publicque nor your Lordships' particular service.

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### *VI. Roe's proposition to the States General.*

State Papers, Holland. July $\frac{8}{13}$, 1629.

Abbregé de la proposition du Chevalier Roe, Ambass^r Extroad^re de sa Ma^te de la Grande Bretagne, faicte aux Deputés des Seigneurs Estats Généraux des Provinces Unies, le $\frac{3}{13}$ Juillet, 1629.

Sa Ma^te mon Seigneur et Maitre ayant sagement preveu le danger imminent de la liberté de la Mer Baltique, et senti la perte que l'interruption du traffic dicelle apporte, occasionés par la guerre entre les Rois de Pologne et de Suede, et qu'il y a apparence que les forces Imperialles seront attirées dans la Prussie à l'oppression du Roy de Suede et assujettissement de cette Province à la maison d'Austriche estant aussi requise par le Roy de Pologne de s'entremettre comme Médiateur de paix à laquelle le Roy de Suede s'est declaré n'estre pas contraire, il lui a pleu m'imposer la charge de moyenner entre ces deux couronnes.

Les raisons qui ont induit sa Ma^te à s'interposer en cest affairse (qui de soy mesme est un office convenable à un Roy Chrestien) sont deux :

1. La necessaire consideration de l'ouverture du traffic de la cité de Dansick et autres villes libres, pour le proffitt de ses propres subjets et des Provinces Unies, ce qui estant assés evident n'a besoing d'amplification plus large. A cecy appartient un soing particulier, que l'on doit avoir de la ville de Dansick, qui autrement pourra facilement estre opprimée en sa liberté ou par l'Empereur ou par le Roy de Pologne.

2. La seconde raison est la consideration du danger commun et de la defense de la Mer Baltique; le premier n'est que trop manifeste, à raison de l'accroissement de la puissance de l'Empereur en ces quartiers là, ayant à sa devotion et subjection tant de Ports en Meckelburg et Pomeranie et puis que Wallestein a receu l'investiture de l'une et que sur l'autre ne manqueront poynt des pretensions semblables, après la mort du Duc Regnant. Que si ces pays viennent une fois à estre absoluement reduits à la volonté et obeissance de la maison d'Austriche, tous les Princes et villes Hansiatiques sur ceste mer seront par la necessité du traffic peu à peu et comme insensiblement subjuguées et contrainctes de recevoir la loy de l'Empereur specialement iceluy estant en paix et amitié (comme l'on pretend) avec le Roy de Dannemarc qui a le pouvoir seul d'ouvrir et de fermer ceste mer, à qui il lui plait. Sur ces considerations sa Ma^te^ m'a commandé de communiquer franchement et en confiance à vos Seigneuries ses desseins et par quelles voyes elle veut procéder, et en cela demander vostre conseil et advis, et vous requerir de joindre avec elle pour l'accomplissement de ces deux fins, assavoir l'ouverture du traffic et la defense commune, et de vous assurer que l'interest de vos Seigneuries comme de ses bons amis et alliés, qui est aussi cher et autant prevalable au soing qu'elle porte du public que le sien propre, ou celui de ses propres sujets.

Quant au premier, la liberté du traffic, sa Ma^te^ estime que le propre et naturel remede est d'appaiser les differens entre ces deux Rois estant deux choses incompatibles que la guerre et le traffic. Pourveu que la paix se puisse faire à telles conditions que le Roy de Suede demeure en liberté de proceder en ses resolutions heroiques pour la defense de ces provinces, villes, et mers, et qu'il ne soit diverti de ses nobles et genereux desseins. En quoy sa Ma^te^ desire aussi l'advis de vos Seigneuries, et qu'il vous plaise me communiquer vostre opinion avec tels conseils qui puissent faciliter la perfection de ceste œuvre.

Pour le second ass[urer?] la defense commune, sa Ma^te^ croit et

tient qu'il n'y a poynt de moyens plus prompts ni plus puissants que de cherir et encourager le Roy de Suede, Prince de grande prudence et valeur, et heureux en ses entreprises. Et pour ce qu'il est à craindre qui, suivant l'example des autres par un soing de soy mesme trop precipité, il ne vienne à delaisser le public estant à soupçonner que l'Empereur lui offrira des conditions assés flatteuses ou cherchera sa ruine totale par armes, sa Ma^te^ m'a donné instruction, après que j'aurai premièrement preparé les choses requises à un tel traitté avec le Roy de Danemarc, d'assurer le Roy de Suede que sa Ma^te^ est resolue de correspondre avec lui et de lui donner toute aide qui sera jugée possible et expediente, et de l'animer à continuer ses braves desseins avec constance, jusques à ce que l'on puisse meurement considerer par quels moyens, et en quelle mesure, on le pourra secourir. En quoy, quand sa Ma^te^ sera pleinement et vrayement informée des intensions de ce Roy et de ses moyens et manquements et que c'est qu'il demandera, et attendra de ses amis et alliés, elle donnera ordre pour pleine asseurance et satisfaction d'icelui laquelle ne se peut pour le present determiner ni conclurre en esgard à l'estat present de Danemarc et au peu de conoissance que nous avons encore des articles de ceste paix, et qu'il n'y a poynt eu d'ouverture specialle faicte de la part du Roy du Suede.

Sur ce poinct Sa Ma^te^ m'a pareillement commandé de demander le conseil de vos Seigneuries, et de vous persuader jusques là de vous declarer pour l'encouragement et confirmation du dit Roy de Suede, affin que je lui puisse apporter de votre part le soulagement de vos resolutions de contribuer en telle mesure qu'il sera convenable, et que par la bonne aide et assistance de vos Seigneuries je soye rendu capable de commencer une negotitiation^a^ avec ce Roy pour la defense publique. En quoi sa Ma^te^ fera tout ce qui appartient à un Roy de telle puissance et zele à la cause commune. Finalement qu'il vous plaise aussi m'aider avec vos lettres et memoires vers ces Princes et villes libres interessées en ces affaires et en la cause du commun, pour l'accomplissement des desirs de sa Ma^te^ et de vos Seigneuries.

[*Indorsed*] Proposition faicte et donnée aux Deputés des Estats Generaux des Provinces Unies le $\frac{3}{13}$ Juliet, 1629.

Their deputies were 6 :

Mons^r FINCK of Gelderland.
Mons^r BOCKHORST of Holland.
Mons^r BEAUMONT of Zeland.
Mons^r RODA of Utrecht.
Mons^r LUCTEREN of Zutphen.
Mons^r TER-COULEN of Over-Issell.

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### *VII. Answer given to Sir Thomas Roe.*

State Papers, Holland. July $\frac{3}{13}$, 1629.

They withdrew themselves to consult together, and Mons. Finck of Gelderland, in the name of the rest, giving his Ma^tie humble thanks for his favour to them and care of the publique, required the substance of my discourse and proposition in writing, which I promised.

To that part wherein I desired to know their opinion in generall of the peace between the two Crownes of Suede and Poland, and to be informed by them of the difficulties their Ambassadors found in that negotiation, that I might the better direct my selfe, and that they would be pleased to contribute to mee their counsells, assistance, and memorialls for the accomplishment of that treaty, they answered, that they did approve and concurre with his Ma^tie in the desire of that peace, and would expresse it upon consultation, having then only order to heare and relate.

For the other, they referred mee to Mons. Beaumont, who had bin one of their ambassadors employed to that effect, who freely declared the first difficulty did arise from a refusall of the King of Poland to acknowlege the King of Suede for king, and to renounce his pretensions upon that crowne. The second upon restitution of the places taken by the King of Suede in Livonia and Prussia, upon which the nobility of Poland insisted, and which the King of

Suede was willing to surrender upon payment of his charge of the warre, which mony could not be found. Lastly, that he found as much power as aversnes in the cleargy and Jesuites, who wholly opposed the treaty. He thought the making of a peace would be difficult, and not so advantageous to the King of Suede as a long truce, whereby he might hold possession of some seaports as cautions, and to this counsell he applied himselfe.

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### *VIII. Conference between Sir Thomas Roe and the Count of Schwarzenberg.*

State Papers, Holland. July $\frac{4}{14}$, 1629.

Conference with the Count of Swartzenburg,[a] 4 and 5 July, 1629.

He related the cause of the warre to arise from the King of Suede, who by often breach of promise cast the Elector of Brandeburgh into a jealousy of the King and State of Poland: so farre as they quarrelled his estate in Prussia as forfeited. I observed in all his discourse that he cast the blame upon the King of Suede.

I desired to know what were the difficulties that the Dutch Ambassadors fell upon in their treaty. He answered, that they landing in the Prussia of Brandeburgh were inticed by the Chancellor of Suede to speake first with him, and so fell into a jealousy of the King of Poland; and after removing and staying long at Dansick they grew worse suspected, as negotiating in that towne a neutrality for the King of Suede,—insomuch, that comming to court they scarse were admitted audience, as being partiall; but after they had obtained leave to treate they spent much time about the place, titles, and ceremonyes, but never entred into the substance. I asked what proposition he thought so indifferent and just as might be acceptable on both sides, to which he replied, absolute restitution of the King of Suede. I demanded whither it were safe for his master

[a] On behalf of the Emperor.

to advantage the Pole so much, seeing he confessed that they pretended a forfeiture, to which he replied, there was no other way of peace, for I should find the affaires changed; the King of Poland reconciled to a faction of his subjects; his eldest sonne assured of the succession and the forces of the Emperour in his ayd, which would make him high in his demands. In this I found him all imperiall; only he confessed that if by peace and restitution the King of Suede were not removed out of Prussia, that he thought it was the Emperor's purpose to sett up his owne pretenses to the wholle country and to oppresse the Elector, and by the King's consent to deceive the Poles, and to change the dependance *in feudo* of that province and to give it to Casimir, the second sonne, and that this he did beleeve was the secrett end of those auxiliars sent by the Baron Arnheim.

He councelled mee to land in a neutral part, intimating that of Brandeburgh, and to send a secretary to both Kings to signifie my arrivall, and to prepare a place of convention indifferent, wherin he knew the Elector's Commissioners should assist if he were not himselfe in person. He told mee the truce taken in expectation of his Ma^ties^ mediation was ended the last of June, and that the Elector had procured a prolongation of six weeks, but that he feared the descent of the imperiall forces would bring all into confusion, being purposely interposed to prevent a treaty of peace, and that he now thought the Emperor would become a party both in the peace and warre.

[*This and No. 9 are indorsed*] Conference with the deputies of the States Generall the 3, and with Count Swartzenburg 4 and 5 July, 1629.

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### *IX. Sir Thomas Roe to Viscount Dorchester.*

My Lord,

I arrived at the mouth of the Mase on Munday night with Capt. Pennington's whole fleete, being embarqued on the Adventure. I

State Papers, Holland. July $\frac{4}{14}$, 1629.

mett the rest at sea, who I hope are returned safe to the Downes according to their order. On Tuesday I gott to Delfe, where Mr. Carleton mett me and received me as your Lordship's servant. The next day some of the States mett me according to custome and conducted me to their house, and entertayned me honestly. That night I asked audience, and the morning (Thursday) I went to the Court of the States Generall and delivered to them with his Ma^ties^ letter a few words of ceremonye, of the generall of my imployment, and desired them to appoynt deputies to heare and consult with me with as much speed as their owne affayres and my hast would permitt. This I told by interpreter, and with the assistance and communication of your nephew. After a replye from them of due respect to his Ma^tie^ and other complements, they desired that I would give them in writing what I had sayd, to which I replyed that they had the substance in his Ma^ties^ letter, and that I thought it superfluous: when ther was any matter of deliberation propounded I would endeavour to give them requisite content. On Fryday they sent six deputies, for every province one, to Mr. Carleton's house, whither I desired to remove and now am, to his trouble, to whom I proposed the subject of my legation; and, they separating themselves to consult, required it of me in writing, which I could not refuse, unless that I would prejudice myselfe by suspition or singularitye, which, with the consent of your nephew, I have to-day presented to them. And, because they will not answere untill they have advised with the Prince of Orange to gayne tyme, I purpose to goe to him on Munday,[a] and thereby hope to advantage myself in the answere. This breefe account I thought fitt to give y^r^ Lordship that you may see I loose no tyme, and in generall to lett you know that I have not only proceeded in confidence with Mr. Carleton but by his approbation and advice, having acquainted him with my instructions and my sense of them, wherein I find that I have a worke of greater curiosity, to weigh wordes and to cutt by a thread then direct matter to build upon, though in generall I judge more

[a] 6 July.

might have been done here if I had had more scope. The negociations of Camerarius hangs in the bryars; the peace of Denmarke is diverslye understood here, but in the worst sense. Mr. Carleton will send your Lordship a breefe of the freshest advise from Sir Ro: Anstruther, and give you better relations of the leaguer and this State then you can expect from me. When I returne I shall have made observations to judge upon, and then I will trouble your Lordship with the coppies and particulars of my proceedings by journall, and hasten towards Denmarke. Of my deligence I beseech your Lordship to make relation to his Ma^tie^, wherein I shall need no other wings nor spurrs then the zeale of his service and the ease of a charge which I know not but as the satyre that kissed fire, and too heavy for my temporall foundation. I yet undergoe my burthen in confidence of a good master and in assurance of the extension of your favour and protection to

Your Lordship's humble devoted servant.

Haghe, $\frac{4}{14}$ July, 1629.

Returning from the armye I purpose but two dayes stay here.

[*Indorsed*] To my Lord of Dorchester, 4 July, 1629.

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### X. *Sir Thomas Roe's Conference with the Prince of Orange and the Deputies of the States Generall.*

State Papers, Holland. July $\frac{12}{22}$, 1629.

On the 7 of July I arrived at Renen, where the King of Bohemia mett me, purposely come from the camp. I delivered his Ma^ties^ letters to him and the Queen, and made a relation of my employment, applying it in the generall to the advantage of his Highnes and his affayres. He returned his Ma^ties^ thanks, and seemed not only to concurre but to submitt himselfe and his opinions wholy to his Ma^ties^ direction, upon whose wisdome and goodnes he did entirely depend, but in matter of advise he showed a tendernes to declare, doubting that my message had not wings to beare up the

weightie body of so great a dessigne as the encouragement or support of the King of Swede, who would (as he beleeved) hazard no more without realitye and assurance of sufficient and constant supplye.

9. The 9 day I wayted on the King of Bohemia, to the camp before Boisleduc, and arrived late, and was lodged by the Prince of Orange that night; I gave him his Ma^ties letters and desired a conference with him in the morning.

10. Wherein I related the substance of my negotiation to the same purpose that I had spoken to the Deputyes of the States, and to the written propositions given them; I desired his advise and the ayd of his authority with them, to hasten me such an answere as might correspond with his Ma^ties purposes and the generall good. I putt him in mynd of the power given me from him to assure his Ma^tie of a readines in the States to concurre with him in any action that should take care of the libertye of the Balticque Sea or the safety of the King of Swede, which had beene an especiall motive of my passing by these parts both to communicate and to consult with his Excellencye and the Lords of these provinces to that effect.

His answere was, that he had yet received no particular from the States Generall, but of my arrivall; and, therefore, could not (by the rule he held in such affayres) propound busines first to them. To the matter it selfe he approved his Ma^ties care of opening the trades in those seas and his counsell to that end to make peace betweene the Kings of Poland and Swede as the only way and remedye; he acknowledged the benefitt and almost the necessitye thereof to this State, which they had expressed publicquely, by sending their ambassadors to the same purpose; and therefore wished his Ma^tie all honor and successe in so worthy and necessarye an office, which to particulars of the States he would recommend, and doubted not I should receive an answere of satisfaction. To the second poynt of the publicque defence, he sayd he was constant to what he had told me formerly, because he knew the States were constant to their owne and their friends' advantages, but that i

became not them to declare first. They were, in effect, left alone in the warr: the Emperor, by the King of Denmark's peace, being sett loose upon them, so that they had enough to doe and more then they could continew to defend their owne libertye. Notwithstanding, if his Ma^tie^ had beene pleased to declare his resolution, he was assured the States would not have beene wanting to doe what they were able; but how farr to that poynt they would answere at present he could not foresee, nor might persuade them with discretion to enter into particulars upon a generall discourse. He wished the support of the King of Swede as most necessarye, but seemed to decline all treaty of league that must constantly and determinatly bind (modestly reflecting upon our past treatyes), but rather intimated a way of voluntarye contribution, which yet he thought would not assure that king. In generall, with great gravitye, he made light of my proposition as being no way grounded. He did formalise upon Rubens' negotiation in England as verye unseasonable, to which I replyed that S^r^ Henry Vane would give a present account, and that I had no other order nor knowledge but that his Ma^tie^ therein would send a just and right satisfaction to all his friends. I moved him particularly to procure the States to contribute so much encouragement as I might be able to assure the King of Swede in case of any league of the subsidy given to Denmarke; but he would promise nothing more then a generall recommendation of the same stuffe and temper that I brought him.

From him I went to the Deputies of the States Generall for the camp and did the like office. I found them verye sensible of the profitt of the treatye betweene the Kings of Pole and Swede, giving his Ma^ties^ humble thanks for so particular a favour as the communication with them; to that poynt by Mons. Vosberghen they discoursed largely; he gave me many good and wise cautions and advertisements in the managing of the treatye, especially to take care of the King and to avoyd the rocke of Polish jealousye: to this part they promised to contribute their counsell to the States. To

the second, the common defence, he insisted much upon the peace of the King of Denmarke, and spake doubtfully and fearefully of some secrett articles; he opened the envye of those nations Danish and Swede, and that any intimation of succour or supply that might give honor to the King of Swede would rather disturbe the King of Denmarke then winne upon him, and therefore wished me not to begin there; but from his owne articles with the Emperor, wherein is reserved an inclusion of his Ma^tie^ and the States to ask what was his intention therein and what counsell he would give for their comprehension, and what wayes to convert that peace to their benefitt, thereby to discover his purposes toward them, and thereupon to proceed to assurance of their subjects' trades; which, being gayned to enlarge so far upon the common defence as might not invidiously cross the other, because he thought that King had neyther will nor power in respect of his counsell that over-ruled him in the peace, to doe much for the generall, and therefore that it was more safe to pass by it then to fayle or discover further intentions untill they were more assured; but that, as they desired above all things the quiett of that sea and the safetye of the King of Swede and the libertye of the Hans Townes, so they would write to the Lords the States their opinion to concurre with his Ma^tie^ in all his royall purposes, declining utterly any other declaration.

11. I returned towards the Haghe with more satisfaction in that I had seene then what I had done, having gone round all the miraculous workes and visited all the approches to their points, and judged the towne crestfallen,[a] in want and despayre.

[*Indorsed*] Conference with the Prince of Orange and the Deputies of the States General at the Camp, 10 July, 1629.

[a] Bois-le-Duc., to which the Prince was then laying siege.

*XI. Sir Thomas Roe to Frederick, titular King of Bohemia.*

State Papers, Holland. July $\frac{14}{24}$, 1629.

May it please your Ma^tie^,

If I should leave this countrye without acknowledgement of your Ma^ties^ virtues and favours, which I have abundantly seene and tasted, the sinne of foule ingratitude would hang over and affright me in all my journye. I am able to returne your Ma^tie^ nothing, and Kings expect nothing but good hearts from their servants. Your Ma^tie^ hath knowne what my master hath commanded me to say and doe in this employment, wherein I find many difficultyes and have little advanced here. The entrye of the Emperor's troopes into Prussia, I feare, have a larger dessigne then the contemplation of the peace of Poland, and I shall find now a third partie interessed and the warre broke out, for we have certayne advice of a fight betweene the King of Swede and Arneim; the successe I send your Ma^tie^ enclosed, as it comes from Lubecke; but Arnheim's letters make it worse, though he confess the King did make an honorable retraict. I will hasten my journye with all possible speede, hearing by the English troopes of Colonell Morgan arrived at Enchusen; that the King of Denmarke is in Holstein; and, as it is the intention of his Ma^tie^ to apply this negotiation particularly to your service, and to the benefit of your affayres, so, if God prosper me, I will endeavour by some effects to give your Ma^tie^ testemonye of my zeale therein, and how far your infinite favours have obliged me to do you service. Of what I shall be able to do I will presume to render your Ma^tie^ assiduous account, and give me leave to beseech you to ease us of the care and to prevent your owne danger: your Ma^tie^ ought not to tempt an all[a] accident. Almighty God keepe your Ma^tie^ safe and restore you to the dignitye of your meritts, and the prayers of Your Ma^ties^ most humble servant.

Hagh, $\frac{14}{24}$ July, 1629.

[*Indorsed*] To the King of Bohemia, 14 July, 1629.

[a] *sic;* probably for ill.

*XII. Sir Thomas Roe to Viscount Dorchester.*

State Papers, Holland. July $\frac{14}{24}$, 1629.

MY LORD,

My letter of the 4 July hath given your Lordship account of my passage and entrance into my busines here. The enclosed will declare how I have since passed my tyme to this day at noone. My success hath not answered my diligence, finding this state full of care and trouble, having their hands full both of invasion and defence, and their heads of feare of the encrease of the enemies' forces by accession of the Imperialls. This hath hindered me both in tyme and the extent of their declaration, which what it wilbe two dayes will enable me to assure his Ma^tie^. In the meane tyme I thought necessarye so far to be provided as to send your Lordship all, which, if you thinke superflous, you may teach me to spare yow and myselfe. I fynd here that though these men are as sencible as can be expected of both poynts committed to my charge, as their present plantation in Muscovye doth strongly witnes, yet they pretend that the same generalityes have beene often propounded without effect, and so they less esteeme this. In clearer tearmes, they hope and believe little, and yet I am persuaded would doe much if I had power to trye them; but I am tyed to so strict a forme of proposition that I speake rather leafe gold then solid mettall. This freenes his Ma^tie^ will pardon me, because I would have built strongly. I omitt to trouble your Lordship with more of this untill I see their answere, and will presume to conclude with my opinion of the present state of these provinces. It may be counted a paradoxe to thinke that theire prosperitye at Boisleduc will facilitate a peace, which I for many reasons beleeve, though others suppose they wilbe blowne up with insolence; but I consider they doe not dessigne great conquests, but a securetye, which this towne may give them; and the expence is so immense that they wilbe glad to take breath. Besides, the bold attempt of the enemy, almost desperate, to enter their countrye without a retraict doth

amaze and teach them what fury and desperation may doe; so that, in my opinion, if they winne they wilbe content; if they loose they wilbe abject and the countrye discontent, and that conjuncture of a treatye for them very propitious. Your Lordship will find by a note within this letter that the King of Swede hath had a check, and that the Emperor is entered, not so much in contemplation of the peace for Poland, as a third party, so that my negotiation will find new difficultyes, and all sides perhaps exasperate, and the comforte that I shall carry only queres. Only his Ma^ties^ name and authoritye doth strengthen me, whom I beseech by your Lordship's mediation to accept my endeavours, which shall be winged with diligence and fidelitye, and that yow wilbe pleased to continew me in your patronage as

Your Lordship's most humble devoted servant,

THO. ROE.

Haghe, $\frac{15}{25}$ July, 1629.

I have not stepped one foote nor uttered a sillable without the company and approbation of your nephew, who hath irreparrably obliged me.

All the publicque ministers here have visited me, only the French have taken no notice; perhaps he knows not his trade or is sorry for the peace, for I know him well by his negotiations at Vienna.

[*Indorsed by Dorchester*] From Sir Th. Roe the 15 of July, received at Theobald's by an expresse the 26, *stilo veteri*, 1629.

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After some negociations in Denmark, Roe proceeded to the seat of war. His letters which follow give an account of his dealings with Gustavus.

### *XIII. Sir Thomas Roe to Viscount Dorchester.*

MY LORD,

I arrived at Konigsberg the 18 Aug., where I was well received and used by the Prince Elector of Brandenberg, and from where I

State Papers, Poland. Sept. $\frac{7}{17}$, 1629.

instantly wrote with all due respect to the King of Swede. There I enformed myselfe of the estate of the affayres, how they stood, and by the conduct of his Commissioners, that were ready to goe to the treatye begun by an enterloping French ambassador, Mons. Charnassy, gott to the Polish camp (for there was no other way) the 23 day. The King and Prince being retired to Warsow, the next day I sent Mr. Gourdon to the Swedes' quarters, to advise the King that I was comming to him to offer my selfe to that dutye which his Ma^tie^ had commanded me; but he refused me audience upon vayne quarrells for titles or epithites ; and so I fell upon a dispute with him six dayes, which being accommodated, the 29 I came to his campe, with honorable reception, and had that night audience and delivered him his Ma^ties^, my master's, letters, which he returned backe within two houres unbroken up, for want of titles also, especially that of *Potentissimo*, though there were enough for any Christian king. He sayd he would accept me as mediator, without other credence then a former letter, and desired me to write to his Ma^tie^ for a new, for he could not be diminished in his honor. My Lord, I have only leysure to give you a generall tast of these fumes, and humbly to desire his Ma^tie^, both in these ceremonies and in the substance of busines, to suspend his creditt to any relation (for I have beene threatned with complaynts) untill I can have meanes to send an expresse, which I purpose to doe from Dansicke within ten dayes ; for I have weighed all things, and, though I might have refused justly to enterpose my master's name where his letters were refused, yet necessitye both required my ayd; and I can give a good reason, that will satisfye his Ma^tie^, who is the patron only of the publicque good. For the ground of this war and the treatye of peace in the end thereof hath never beene rightly enformed, and I shall reveale many things to his Ma^tie^ worthy the knowing, that are not beleeved, nor were once thought on (at least if I only were not deceived) in England. The treatye it selfe is drawne to narrow points: the substance is a truce for 6 yeares with an article obligatorie to treate a generall peace next yeare ; that the King of

Swede shall surrender some Mediterran townes, and Marienburg, and the Heft[a] that doth command the Vistula; but it is over recompenced at the losse of the Marg. of Brandeburg *jure potentiæ*, by surrender of the Memel, a sea port, Fishehausen, and other places. The trade shalbe opened, though burthened with some charge, for the King of Swede will have a custome in the roade of Dansicke or els no truce. Here only lyes the difficultye, which will rest in me and our merchants to accommodate. Your Lordship may see the scope of the King of Swede to be master of all the ports and trade from the Narve to Stralsond, which is a matter of great consideration, and to hold all his profittable conquests, havens, and places neare the sea, at the charge of the trade and merchants and the losse of the Elector; for whosoever doth the wrong that prince must make the amends, who is unjustly undone, and it is thought meritorious (at least by the French Ambassador) to sacrifice a prince of our religion to the peace of the Romanist, for he is betweene the hammer and the anville, without help, being betrayed by his owne subjects for their barnes' sake. But I will by this conveyance forbeare to write much, and desire your Lordship to winne his Ma^ties patience for me. I will give him an honest account of the care of his honor, of the interest of his estates, and of the publicque: so that I hope an impudent enemy shall not be able to except against me. But you wilbe pleased also with patience to heare what wee feele. There never was in the world such a distracted treaty, so many wrangles, so many parts, so many difficulties, so much wresting to partiall ends, but above all so much miserye in two camps. We treate from one army to another, now lodged in one, now in the other, in the field of Golgotha; the plague so hott in both that I never saw such a mortalitye in Turky, India, nor I thinke can be in Cayro, the seat of the plague, for the number. All the countrye is dispeopled; in 80 English mile not a house to sleepe safe in; no inhabitants except a few poore weomen and children *vertendo stercorarium* to find a corne of wheate. I

[a] The Frische Haff.

have begun to have my part, one of my kitchin being stroken dead; the French Ambassador hath lost 3; the King of Swede 60 servants of his bodye and all his cookes, many of his officers. Our new regiment of English halfe-dead and not able to muster 200. Of all his Ma^ties subjects, consisting of at least 13 regiments new and old, they cannot march 1500; more dye, or as many, of famine as of plague, inseparable companions; bread and water is the best dyet; and I heare nothing but lamentations, nor see varietye but of dead bodyes. My trayne and servants I sent at first to Dansicke, to save some, and I remayne with 4 only to doe my dutye, in more danger then the cannon doth threaten to ride betweene the camps to see an end of our labours, if God please to spare me. Howsoever, I will pursue my vocation, and trust in his providence. The King of Swede hath dispersed his army and is himselfe gone to the Pelow [a] to speake with the Elector and to take ship for Stockholme, of whome I have taken leave, and stand now in his favour, and he hath left us to fight it out against infection, weather, and famine. The Poles are retyred in not much lesse miserye foure Duch miles, easely parted if as easely agreed. I conclude nothing can goe right here, where ambition and glorie prevayle agaynst justice and modestye. I write in trouble, and therefore I desire your Lordship to excuse me both in the methode and matter and to keepe me in his Ma^ties opinion as his most faythfull subject and your

Lordship's humble servant,

THO: ROE.

From miserable Elbing, worse than the Campe,
$\frac{7}{17}$ Sept. 1629.

[*Indorsed*] Copye of a letter to my Lord of Dorchester, dispatched by sea, 8 Sept. 1629, rec^d by Sir Rob. Anstruder's convayance the last of October, 1629.

[a] Pillau.

In a letter to Dorchester of $\frac{\text{Sept. 27,}}{\text{Oct. 7,}}$ Roe says that on Sept. $\frac{11}{21}$ he went to the Swedish camp near Marienburg to bring the Commissioners from both sides together on the next day. In the night came a protest from the French Ambassador disavowing in the name of the Poles "the principal ground of the treaty;" on which the Swedes angrily resolved to break off the negociation. Roe begged for delay, and in the morning went to the Polish camp and proposed another way of composition, and so brought the Commissioners to meet on the morning of Sept. $\frac{14}{24}$ in the fields of Altmark, half-way between the camps. At last they agreed on all points except "one of liberty of the Catholic religion in a town kept by the King of Sweden, in which both sides were so violent that we broke up in confusion, and returned in despair." In the night Roe argued with Oxenstjerna, and they both joined in writing to the King at Pillau. He then sent Gordon at midnight to the Poles to beg for a meeting on the $\frac{15}{25}$. After two days' discussion all was agreed on, when a new controversy arose between Roe and the French Ambassador about their masters' precedency in the form of treaty. At last it was agreed that they should both leave the camp at the same moment, and the Swedish and Polish Commissioners should do as they pleased without them. There was to be a truce till July 1, 1635, "with obligation of a new convention for a final peace the next year in some fit place to be agreed on with the Elector of Brandenburg." During this time the Vistula was to be freed, and the trade of Danzig, Königsberg, and Lithuania opened. The King of Poland's consent was still required to a new custom to be raised by the King of Sweden at Pillau and before Danzig. "I am glad," adds the writer, "to-morrow to go to Danzig, for this town," Elbing, "is a furnace of contagion, and I have walked these last days between death rather than between armies, lying in the field in such want, danger, and nastiness that it will offend any cleanly ear to hear." The King of Sweden met the Elector of Brandenburg at Fischhausen, and sailed on the $\frac{14}{24}$ for Calmar.

## *XIV. Sir Thomas Roe to Elizabeth, titular Queen of Bohemia.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MA$^{tie}$,

It is as impossible for mee in a letter to give your Ma$^{tie}$ a relation of a moneths busines, as to expresse in words how full my humble heart is of thankfulnes to the King of Bohemia for the infinite favours and his affection shewed mee; and, if I should hope by prayses to your Ma$^{tie}$ to discharge some of a great debt, nothing is enough to say of so brave, just, religious, and benigne a prince, and

State Papers, Poland. $\frac{\text{Sept. 25}}{\text{Oct. 5}}$ 1629.

therefore I will lett both alone and thanke God that he hath gotten no harme where he could get no good. The substance of our miserable treaty Mr. Carleton will relate to your Ma$^{tie}$, and I have only now intruded myselfe to kisse your Ma$^{ties}$ hands, and to lett you know in generall that there is in the King of Swede a good disposition, if wee knew how to employ it. He is a brave prince, but wise to save himselfe, and maketh good private use of an opinion and reputation that he is fitt to restore the publique. I dare say no more by letter, but that wee see not well and distinctly in a perspective glasse at so great a distance. He hath given mee propositions and excellent grounds if the building thereon be not too chargeable. In the meane time he seates himselfe fast in Prussia, to the losse of the oppressed Prince of Brandeburgh, who hath a strange fortune to be undone only by his friends, whereby in matter of state wee have learned that too cold and stupid a neutrality is as dangerous as lukewarmenes in religion; and he is become a grayne of corne betweene two milstones, brused to make bread for others. A French ambassador hath beene with him and made an ouverture that I dare not write. I am made beleeve it is hotly negotiated, but it is too good; all I can say is, that it is the best proposition for your Ma$^{tie}$ that was ever projected, though the authors only looke at themselves. I send it to his Ma$^{tie}$ in cyphar, for so I am entrusted. That, and the King of Swede concurring, will reveiw all accounts in Germany; but, when wee spend our selves heere to rayse brave actions, they say you will prevent us with a peace that will rust all our swords, so kind hearted is the Spanyard become, from whose trust Almighty God deliver your Ma$^{tie}$. By this time I doubt not there is possession taken of that imployment wherein I ambitiously desired to serve your Ma$^{ty}$, so that I cannot but justly complayne of my starres that are alway canicular, especially in this, in which I am sensible of wrong, having a promise, when I was sent to this vally of death, that I should rest at the Haghe. If your Ma$^{tie}$ doe not at least pitty mee, my wrong is doubled, though perhaps

you are better served. It is in vayne to lament, and nothing can now come worse to mee if your Ma^tie^ once thinke that any man living doth more honor you or would more willingly dye to serve your Ma^tie^ profitably or contentedly then,

Your Ma^ties^, I am sure, most antient and most humble servant.

Dansicke, 25 Sept. 1629.

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### *XV. Sir Thomas Roe to Viscount Dorchester.*[a]

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

I have more neede of an excuse for the historys I have sent your Lordship then to trouble you with additions. The best I have is this, that, falling upon disputes at my first arrivall, for which I was threatened with complaynts, and at my first entrye into busines a fame being spread that I perplexed the treatye, which they thought was almost ended, though I found the contrarye, I thincke it a duty to myselfe to sett downe faythfully the whole process, that not only his Ma^tie^ may know what is done, but the reasons of my proceeding; for, as ther had beene no truce concluded if I had not made the temper and wonne both parts to consent to a moderate custome with the balance of our interest, so eyther the trade had beene overburthened or quite shutt up, whereas now the issue is that formerly the King of Swede, forcing all ships to come and sacrifice at the Pelow, and taking 10 and 12 in the 100 in the first rate, and 4 more in the valewation of the goods & money,[b] and as much outward, and if any of the same goods were transported to Dansicke as much more, and of those that came or laded immediatly at Dansicke 20 & 30 per 100. I hope to resettle the commerce

State Papers, Poland. Sept. 29 / Oct. 9 1629.

[a] The letter is in two forms, one cyphered to a great extent, to be sent to England, the other a copy apparently kept by Roe. Where there is discrepancy the latter is followed, as a mistake may easily have occurred in the cyphering. The other form will be added in a note.

[b] "goods and" omitted in the other copy.

free at 5 in both ports, in specie, without loss upon mony or other imposition within land. Thus far we are in the generall treatye; ther rests only to dispose this citty to agreement, which I have done in the matter, though they will not declare nor article untill the King of Poland's licence doe warrant them, which done they cannot stand out alone, for, the treatye being ratefyed, they are concluded in the generall and must treate apart. In this I hope I have done his Ma^tie^ and the publicque good service, and, if I did a little stand out that our merchants might be encouraged to returne hither, the King of Swede will find in experience that I have done him none ill, which he now beleeveth, and hath left the conclusion to me wholye, and he is at full libertye to use his virtue in any other place where he pleaseth. Your Lordship may cast away what superfluitye of my discourse you find impertinent, but I am persuaded there are woven in it many things the discoverye whereof are usefull, and his Ma^tie^ may make his owne judgement out of your Lordship's notes and cast the rest into the fire. There rests onely that I enforme your Lordship of the motion of the French Ambassador to the Marquis of Brandeburg, mentioned in my relation. After some generall discourse of the feare of the house of Austria and their subduing of all Germany, he told the prince ther was but one remedy, to change the race and to elect a King of the Romans of another stocke, and asked herein his opinion, who answered, the motion was good and possible. Then he demanded if he would give his voyce if he saw the faction sure and strong, to which he replyed that when he was satisfyed in that he would answer. Then Charnassy told him that his Ma^tie^ had employed him to that purpose in Germany, and offered the Duke of Bavare his help, who, after much argument, had accepted it; that three voyces were gayned, his owne, the Elector of Colen, and Triers, and that his would cast it, desiring his free declaration; to which the prince answered, that he could not with his oath of an Elector deliver before hand to whom he would give his suffrage untill they were mett in the Electorall Dyet, there to doe as God

and right did enspire him; but thus far he would engage himselfe, that when he saw the Duke of Bavaria declare and were assured of the two Bishops he would doe that [which] became a prince that desired the liberty of Germany. Charnassy told him that the Duke had promised his master three things if he were chosen: To admitt the Protestant[a] religion within the empire with the same priviledges so granted the Lutherans, who have liberty by the lawes, but the other none; secondly, that he would restore the Dukes of Mekelburg, Pomern, Baden, and the free cittyes[b] to their inheritance; thirdly, that he would recall the demand of ecclesiasticall livings and grant them to the possessors without trouble; lastly, that he would expell the stranger. To this offer that the ambassador asked why he left out restitution of the Palatinate and the honours annexed. To which he sayd he would promise nothing, but left it to his consideration, that being elect King of the Romans or Emperor he could not be Elector, and that in that case he would treate with his cosen upon just and honourable tearmes. This was the negociation of the French ambassador with his Highnes, who doth beleeve the French King will pursue the dessigne, if ther be no peace in Italie, Charnassy having order from hence to goe to the Duke of Saxe. I pray God this be not a French nitingale that sings sweetly but is all voyce. I cannot, I feare, returne this winter, being enforced to stay in this towne to see the exsecution of the treaty, which is here referred to me; which being done I must necessarilye goe to Warsow to visitt the King, deliver my credence, and negotiate the busines of the Duke of Curland, many complaynts of our merchants, and to take off the Act of sealing our cloth at this Dyett, which is a clogge upon the free commerce now established. Therfore I hope his Ma$^{tie}$ will command my Lord Treasurer to send me mony, in which I beseech your Lordship to take care of me and of the King's honor, for already I am deepe in myne owne

[a] *i.e.* the Reformed or Calvinist religion.

[b] "Duke of Pomerland, the Marquis of Baden, and the free citties," in the other copy.

creditt, and it is burthen enough to spend twice my allowance and not to add the lacke of that which my master gives me. In this and in all matters that concerne me I am confident of your Lordship's protection as the patron of

Your Lordship's most humble client and servant,

THO. ROE.

Dansicke, 29 Sept. 1629, old stile.

Mr. Gordon, who hath taken great paynes, humbly desires your Lordship's assistance with my Lord Treasurer, that he may not in this cold countrye live like a cameleon. I desire your Lordship that my journall may not be seene but to those that love truth or me.

I beseech your Lordship to send me his Ma^ties^ resolution what he pleaseth to command me, and to procure my licence to come home, and to direct me what way I shall take, if he have any service for me. I hope his Ma^tie^ will make some other choyce for the generall treatye next yeare, for if I be stayed I shalbe undone at this allowance. His Ma^tie^ will heare from the Kings and the Elector of the tyme and place, and wilbe invited to continue his mediation; but a person of greater qualetye and a better purse will befitt so great an office, and I hope his Ma^tie^ will looke upon me according to that promise, that he would employ me nearer, and not keepe me ever a stranger to my deare countrye.

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### *XVI. Sir Thomas Roe to the King.*

State Papers, Poland. Sept. 30 / Oct. 10 1629.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MA^tie^

How far I have proceeded in obedience to your Ma^ties^ commands I have largely enformed my Lord of Dorchester; how well, wholy despends upon your meere grace and acceptance. I may doubt some preventing rumors may have out runne my diligence, for feare did not lend me wings, there being nothing so bold as a good con-

science before a just master. But I have written truth, and, like a faythfull wittnes, the whole truth, as well circumstances as matters; that your Ma^tie^ may take and reject, approve and condemne what you please. It is enough for me, if any thing I have done be gratious, and that for the rest I may have pardon. Your Ma^tie^ will find some thing new, for we see not so perfectly by the best perspectives as at nearer distances with the naturall eye. If therefore I have in an unexpected cause any way exceded, the humble zeale of your Ma^ties^ honour hath beene the worst of my errors; yet I may say I have seene a brave king and a glorious capteyne that hath high Pyrrean thoughts which he wilbe ready to act in your Ma^ties^ and the publicque service. I have so neare done when I returne from Varsow, that I will presume to crave leave, and begg your Ma^ties^ revocation and to receive your Royall pleasure, haveing a burthen too heavye for weake shoulders to beare long, under which I will yet willingly sincke while it carrieth the title of your Ma^ties^ service, wherein no man shall more gladly dye then

Your Ma^ties^ most loyall subject and humble servant,

THO. ROE.

Dansicke, 30 Sept., 1629, old stile.

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*XVII. Sir Thomas Roe to Viscount Dorchester.*

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

By a gentleman sent expresse I gave your Lordship account of my actions and the generall affayres to the 20 Sept. my arrivall to this citty being desired by the Commissioners of both parts to accommodate what remayned to the perfection of the treaty betweene the King of Swede and the Dansickers. With him I addressed to your Lordship divers letters to his Ma^ty^, the coppy of the articles, an enformation of the Elector of Brandeburg, and one to your Lordship of the 30 Sept. which being I hope safely arrived I shall not neede to looke backe. The state of the truce I left depending upon the ratification of the King of Pole and a declaration that he did consent that this towne should treate for the

State Papers, Poland. Oct. 13/23, 1629.

customes demanded by the Swede apart. Since which both are come to Elbing, engrossed and signed the one, the other by word of mouth, which was as much as was required. So that on that side all is well and really performed. But in my absence Coll. Doenhoff, that brought the ratification, would not deliver it without receiving the other deposited in my hands, for which both he and the Chancelor wrote to me, and yesterday I sent Mr. Gordon to performe that trust. So that I esteeme the truce betweene the crownes perfected, and that the reddition of townes and forts shall presently be putt in execution. But the French amb^r, in whose hands the one part is, hath made a new difficulty to consigne it, because in the forme of of that of the Swede his Ma^ty is styled King of France, which being done by the Commissioners in the feilds when we left them, referring our selves to their discretion, and he after discovering, practised to gett it into his power, and to that purpose procured a warrant from the Poles Commissioners to compare them, pretending essentiall differences in the writing, which when he could not have, being in my keeping, he desired a coppy, and there in the margent of that title wrote *nec est, nec esse debet*, and protested he would never surrender nor assist in the transaction if those words were not rased or a new written. Upon which occasion the Chancelor of Swede sent a secretarye to mediate with me, but I made a short answere to all their fallacious propounded temperaments, that being once and rightly so done and both bound to stand to what should be done, with liberty onely of protestation, I would change nothing, especially to doe an act and to consent to that which the French witt would draw into consequence, as a renunciation, assuring the Chancelor the French King would never treate with the King of Spaine on condition to leave out the title of Navarre; therefore that I would deliver myne as I received it without alteration, except he would consent to alter all and putt in my name before Mr. Charnace. And this order I gave in writing to Mr. Gordon, to make the assignation without any change; which what wrangle and delay it will breede I cannot foresee, but I hope the interested will fulfill the truce and

leave us to our owne quarrells. There is risen likewise another difference, for the King of Pole, ratefying the generall treatye, was assured by his Commissioners that the Elector of Brandeburg should of his owne charge pay the garrisons of Marienburg and the Heft, and render to him the profitts of the territorye, a condition most unjust, which promise they exact of Mr. Charnace in these words by their letter, *agitur de fide vestra*, and he doth now deny that he did undertake it, but onely that he would doe his endeavour; by which it may be discerned whither his desires enclined, to make the Marquiss the ransome of the peace. And thus he doth trouble our conclusion more then ever he advanced it, and did seeme to advance *in fretta* at my comming, by promising without authority or commission, being often since disavowed. But I hope this will not hinder the publicque, being a contention betweene the King and the Duke of Prussia, which the French must reconcile as he is able. But it is cleare to me that the whole negotiation had this scope; to reconcile the crownes to recover the Romish and ecclesiasticall lands, and, having little or no trade in these parts, to buy and redeeme these at the charge of the trade, eyther to leave it as it was, for the King of Swede to take what he pleased, or that such rates should be imposed in Dansicke as might discourage the merchant and overburthen the commerce, and consequently the materialls of our shipping and navigation consume, while the cardinall did meditate a greatnes in the sea, which I hope shall never be build upon our decay. In the matter of the trade I have written to Alderman Clotherow what I doe as concerning the merchant, who will satisfie your Lordship, if you please to call him, or send for my letter. There rests onely that is materiall to the full consummation of the truce and opening of the commerce, to dispose these senators to agree with the Swede, wherein I have little advanced. The last weeke I mett the Chancelor at the Heft to draw him to moderate demands and to forme articles, wherein as he is unprofitably covetous so I can gett no resolution here, though they dayly consult. The *Centumviri* have declared with me, but some of the great

councell, partiall to themselves and angry for the loss of their farmes on the Neringe,[a] trouble all. But in conclusion they must yeild, and their delay hath hurt the publicque, for now they must treate *precario*, the generall treaty being ratifyed, and they having excluded themselves by neglect or malice, unlesse they will make war alone and shutt up their owne port, which they cannot nor dare doe for feare of their people, which crye for peace. But I now finde what vexation and tediousnes it is to deale with a mixed government, where suspition and jealousye is wisedome, and with whom every thing hath lost his favour that is propounded from a supposed enemye. They would not beleeve that the ratification should be, and therfore they lost their oportunity and must now redeeme it, which they better endure then reason, *estant enclins à esperer plus qu'ils ne doivent et à endurer moins qu'il n'est necessaire.*

I would willingly say somewhat of the King of Swede and what he is like to undertake, having *les coudees franches*, but I may doe wrong, whither my letters pass safe or not; only so much I will adventure, that he doth not disarme nor licence one troope, but rather endeavours to fill up the weake, and to take as many new upon him as will present themselves. The report of the truce being come to Wallestein, he hath, as it [is] written, recalled some regiments dessigned for Italie, fearing he shalbe forced *rationem reddere* in the spring, in which I say no more then that I beleeve. His Ma^tie^ may make it sure if it concurre with his dessignes, and that it were a great dullness to know good councells when their oportunys is escaped. Your Lordship I hope will pardon me this flash of zeale to the publicque.

I sett forward to Varsow at the Dyett beginning the 3 Nov., a miserable flight in winter, all wayes being infected. At my returne, proposed in 16 dayes, I will endeavour to recover Hamburgh, and so home, if I receive no other order, which I pray your Lordship prevent, for my mony is spent, and my creditt fayled, if my Lord Treasurer doe not satisfye Borlemachy, and therfore I hope your

[a] The spit of land in front of the Frische Haf.

Lordship will move his Ma^tie^ to repayre me or I shall suffer more then modesty will confess; and so I leave your Lordship to the gratious keeping of our blessed God, resting

Your Lordship's devoted humble servant,

THO. ROE.

Dansicke $\frac{13}{23}$ Oct. 1629.

If her Ma^tie^ the Queene please to have toyes of amber, as cabinetts, glasses, bason and cawre, cups, boules, tankers, boxes to furnish a cupboard, if I may know her pleasure and may have mony, I shalbe most diligent to doe her humble service.

[*Indorsed by Dorchester*] Rec^d^ the 23 of 9^ber^ st^o^ n^o^ 1629.

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## *XVIII. Sir Thomas Roe to Sir Robert Carr.*

SIR,

When such a brother returnes to you who hath beene present at all our wrangling busines and is as well able to relate and judge as any man, I should not neede to write for any cause but my owne; yet, seing no letter can be so welcome to you as that which comes by his hand, I would not omitt to doe this the grace, which els hath no other meritt. I know not how the game of State is playd, nor the *arcana* of our present negotiations in England, and therefore what soever I may propose is as like to miss as hitt; at the best perhaps I can doe little good, and in the other hurt myselfe; yet, knowing both your wisedome and sinceritye to his Ma^ties^ service, which I esteeme the publicque and know no distinction, and your nearnes to his person, to be able to make fitt use of every intimation and to give it tyme and season, it were a sullen reservednes and a betraying of truth to forbeare to tell you that this brave king, having made a truce and yet seeks to encrease his army, must have some nobler dessigne then to wast idle, or in this corner of the world. He is a prince highly ambitious of glory and dominion

State Papers, Poland. Oct. 28 / Nov. 7.

and hath no object before him but the war of Germany, whither a little reall encouragement from England would transport him; if therefore his Ma^tie^ hath use of such a capteyne who is prosperous, triumphing, and the best discipliner in Europe, one that hath the singular grace to content his followers without mony, because he is *commiles* with every man, and gives besydes excellent words and good usage as much as he hath, now is the oportunitye to sett him up, which being omitted seldome returnes, as tyme. I dare not dilate upon the severall conjunctures of the declaration of France, the success of the Hollanders, the union of the Protestant cantons, the oppression of the Grisons, the discontent of the two lay Electors and ambition of the third, all at once conspiring agaynst the common enemye, who hath nothing left, no sanctuarye, but the worne out craft of retyring to a treatye; wherein, if they become my master's true friends upon good ground, I am their servant; and I say no more, but *esse dolum in fide hostis*, and I desire you to smother my meditations and to take me into your protection so far as to beleeve, and to assist to maynteyne the same beleefe in his Ma^tie^, that if my witt were equall to my zeale I should never offend him. You cannot lose by doeing a good office, because it requites itselfe, and I can promise for myselfe no more then that I am

Your faythfully devoted servant.

Dansicke, 28 Oct. s.v. 1629.

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### *XIX. Sir Thomas Roe to Viscount Dorchester.*

R. H. MY VERY GOOD LORD,

State Papers, Poland. Oct. 29 / Nov. 8 1629.

The French ambassador refusing to deliver the articles signed and the plenepotence deposited in his hands to the Suede for the capricio mentioned, in a storme of passion sent them backe and rendered them to the Poles, which hindered the execution of the treaty 8 dayes: in so much that we were forced to send to the campe to receive the one part and consigne the other; which being done with all good fayth, both sides tooke great offence at this his

proceeding, not to performe the publicque trust, and he is gone away discontent, without further ceremonye. Since the truce is proclaymed in all parts but this cittye, wherein there is a faction of discord, men who seeke what they dare not find, a scandall to renew the troubles. The articles betweene the Senate and the Swede I have drawne, and so filed them that ther rests only a convention to polish them: something remayning on both parts, which they reserve, as I hope, to abate one the other, as an earnest of the new friendship; but I feare the conclusion must be deferred untill my returne from the Parlament at Varsaw, being the $\frac{3}{13}$ November, for without a stickler they will neyther agree nor meete. In the meane tyme the subtill Chancellor of Swede doth *frui diis iratis*, and takes occasion at their stomach to fill his owne: and to exact the unjust and heavy customes of the war to their owne, ours, and the publicque loss and prejudice, in which I have contested with him; but, pretending that the truce is not consummate and the tyme of shipping now almost out of season, he will not change as he pretends the bookes, and in friendship doth us this wrong; the Poles enjoying the fruictes of peace and we and the Hollanders involved in the obstinacye of Dansicke, in which I doubt ther hath beene some leaven of the Jesuits; wherin the wicked shall not prosper; for I will not leave untill I have settled all according to my former intimation to your Lordship, in which, if the merchant find his custome too heavye, his Ma^tie^ and the States may resent it as a case apart, when the truce hath taken vigour, as a surcharge on their subjects, who have not merited to beare the punishment and to pay the price of others quarrells. This wilbe easy to amend if the King of Swede continue in peace; and if he transport his army into Germanye, to which end I hope he hath layd this foundation to defray the warr at the lost[a] of the trade, it is not ill bestowed on him. On the 26 of this moneth began the reddition of the townes and forts, and by the end, I suppose, all wilbe transacted betweene the crownes.

[a] *Sic.*

The King of Swede doth give new commissions and seekes all wayes to fill and encrease his forces: certeynely not *pour faire la monstre* nor to conquer toward the North Pole; but he is exasperated by Wallestein, who hath lately both assayled his ships in the sea and by land, made an attempt on Stralsont, where he lost 800 men, and ther is no prince in Europe more unlike to swallow an affront patiently. Therfore, if ever ther be dessigne to use this prosperous capteyne, now is the tyme, when his owne bloud and occasions provoke him and the conjuncture of all Christendome doth invite him, and ther is nothing wanting but a little reall encouragement; for I am perswaded, though he may doe some act of bravado in Pomerland the next yeare, yet without good seconds he will not far be engaged, and that his only ayme is the rest of the sea ports; and if he be not employed the next quarrell wilbe betweene him and Denmarke.

By Mr. Rankin I neyther received his Ma^ties^ nor your Lordship's commands, nor creditt nor comfort, and my ignorance of the secretts of the treatyes, diversly noysed here, doe keepe me in awe, having no will to cross any contemplation of my master; yet I cannot forbeare to say that too much good nature is as much to be suspected in an old enemye and a wise, who doth alway march *unâ viâ* though not *uno gradu*, as open hatred, *esse dolum in fide hostis.* But for me to miss that have no grounds to know is no wonder, and therfore I will only pray that, seeing now both wayes are in equall degree offered his Majestie, that he may chose like Soloman that which may include other unseene blessings.

The Prince Elector of Brandeburgh hath earnestly desired me to resollicite his Ma^tie^ to recommend his affayres to the Lords the States according to the enformation sent your Lordship, that he fall not into the danger of the Emperor, which, being an office agreeable to his royall inclination to releeve the oppressed, I know you wilbe pleased to remember and to give order therein.

I understand that a good friend of myne, Mr. Robert Brantwayt, hath his hopes depending on your Lordship to procure him a re-

compence of his long service. I am not easely drawne to write for others, and to spend that favour I may neede for my selfe, but I owe his honestye so much that I must share with him, and will presume to entreat your Lordship to thinke that what you doe for him I take it done to my selfe, and that you shall oblige two at once, one that will pray for you and another that will not dye ungratefull though he prove your

Lordship's unprofitable and humble servant,

THOMAS ROE.

Dansicke, 29 Oct. S. V. 1629.

[*Indorsed*] R. Whitehall, 22 of December.

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On Nov. $\frac{8}{18}$ Roe set out from Danzig and reached Warsaw on Nov. $\frac{14}{24}$. On Dec. $\frac{7}{17}$ he was back at Danzig.

*XX. Elizabeth, titular Queen of Bohemia, to Sir Thomas Roe.*

HONEST THOM,

This worthie gentleman did deliver me your letter when I was at the Busse,[a] and when I came hither I did receave another from you, which did lett me know all your proceedings. I had given you then thankes for them and that you sent me from Amsterdam, but a feaver which took me sudainlie did hinder my writing; it made me very weake for the time, and I was cured by being lett blood. As soone as I was well I went to Rene to aire myself, and now I ame come home I tell you all this, that you may not think that I have forgotton you by my long silence, for assure yourself I will ever be constantlie honest fatt Thom's true frend in spite of the divell. I ame sorie you have had so uncomfortable a journey; I hope one day all shall be recompenced to your advantage, at least I shall both wish it and doe my best to have it so. S^r Henry Vane is at the last arrived heere and this day hath had his audiance. He hath brought

State Papers, Poland. Nov. $\frac{9}{19}$, 1629.

[a] Hertogenbosch or Bois-le-Duc.

from my brother the oulde kinde message to us that he will never make peace with Spaine without our full restitution. Cottington[a] was at the sea side to be gone, and the Lyon, that brought Vane over, is gone to fetch Don Carlo Columna[b] into England. Harry Vane was hastened away uppon the speecke of theyr making heere a truce, either to hinder it or else to make it jointlie together. He tells us that my brother is fullie resolved to have a quick answere one way or other and will not be drawen one[c] to loose more time. I leave you to thinke of all this as you will. And now for more waightie affaires. Our hunting at Rene was verie good, where Rura lost much leather and her hatt, and satt bare a whole day, to the great hinderance of her ease. We have now heere verie good companie and are in great hope to have the French players heere, and verie good fooling this winter. I wish you out of Barbarie, that you were heere in ordinarie.[d] I will not forgett to doe you all the good offices I can to our fatt ambassador, that you may be his successour, and be assured you have not a frend that wisheth you better then doth

Your most constant frend,

ELIZABETH.

The King desires you to be assured of the same from as I say for myselfe I can witnes with him that he loves you verie well. Robin Honiwood hath his troope of horse. Either burne this or keepe it safe.

The Hagh, $\frac{9}{19}$ of November.

[*Addressed*] To Sir Thomas Roe, Ambassadour for the King of Great Britaine in Dansique.

[a] Going as ambassador to negotiate peace.

[b] Don Carlos Coloma, so frequently miswritten Colonna by English writers.

[c] *i.e.* on.

[d] As ordinary ambassador here.

*XXI. Sir Thomas Roe to Viscount Grandison.*

MY LORD,

I am newly returned from Varsaw, where I have beene as bravely received and honored as any ambassador hath beene or can be in any court. There I have obteyned his Ma^ties^ desires, or at least putt them into a right way, both for the Duke of Curland and other affayres of re-establishing the trade. I chose the tyme of their Parlament assembled to ratefye the truce to constitute new Commissioners for the generall treatye, and to pay the army, which are all decreed with much confusion, usuall in their dyetts, where they feast all the tyme, and doe all busines tumultiously the two last dayes. In this court I have observed two things remarkable, the wisedome and patience of an old King, *dominationis peritus*. Your Lordship knowes there is no people boast so much of their libertye, which is indeed alway great: but especially used in their Parlaments, where they doe talke and threaten, and vant and oppose, beyond all rule or example; yet the experienced King getts his ends of them and governs absolutly by suffering them to runne themselves weary and out of breath without contradiction, but rather subtilly flattering and bearing their licenciousnes and soothing them in the pleasure they take to speake; when they can say no more, by tyme and patience he doth in conclusion what he please. My second observation is not unlike it, his art to weaken our religion and yet never to persecute it; for that is against libertye, their mistris, more beloved then religion. When he came to the crowne, the greatest part of the Senate were Protestants, and much of the nobilitye; now in the one there are but two, among the other very few, whom he hath worne out by a constant rule; that, as he never troubled any for religion, so he never makes senator, nor gives the benefitts of the crowne, being wholy in his disposition, to any but Papists. Thus the Protestant hath no exception against him, for grace is free; and they seeme to enjoy libertye that brings them to beggerry; for the great wealth of the gentry depends upon

State Papers, Poland. Dec. $\frac{19}{29}$ 1629.

the crowne land, which the King must give, and upon great offices, neyther of which he ever bestowes on those of our profession. Other persecution would have made them encrease, bred zeale in them and pitty in others toward them, and perhaps for the common love of libertye help from the adversarye, who now pine away and by long continuance of tyme in one constant course are content to lett their children governe their conscience by their hope of wealth and preferment; and the Papist, having the benefitt, is content to lett the other enjoy the ready path of loosing. By this meanes a greater mutation is wrought in this state in matter of religion then in France by the sword, in Italye by the Inquisition, or in England by pecuniarye lawes, which are bought and sold like the Popes' bulls and pardons; and I am perswaded, if the like course were taken with our recusants 20 yeares, that they enjoyed nothing but the benefitt of subjects and the law, that they had neither favour nor place in court nor common-weale, their ambition and stomacke would wind them about sooner then persecution, for nothing doth more worke upon men then contempt and to be lett alone as unconcerned and unworthy of equaletye with others. Honour and the belly hath a great stroke in this world, and when man doth know before hand he cannot rise, before he declare and be hardened he will fitt his conscience to his life. To leave my meditations and come nearer home; I have finished all my busines, I am sure with great paynes and danger and to the honor of my master and the publicque benefitt. If it may find proportionable acceptance it wilbe a comfort, though no reward. Some differences yet depend betweene the King of Swede and this citty, which concerne the trade, which I hope to compose. But overtaken with winter, and no shipping left, I must rest here untill February or March, that the seas be open. His Ma^tie hath commanded me to pass by Denmarke for his service, where I will doe my duty though the occasion is overslipt; and I feare only my owne zeale hath made the expectation too great; but I will trye my art, and to have made a fayre offer can be no offence.

The King of Swede giveth new commissions and reenforceth his army to 30,000 foote and 8,000 horse; mony he hath none to pay them, therfore your Lordship may expect to heare of him in a place where the soldier hath beene taught to live without pay. Sure I am that now were the oportunitye to make the common enemye stoope, and to grace our ambassadors, that treate peace. He is a most brave aspiring prince, *ad magnos res et mutationes natus.* I will not further trowble your Lordship till I may have the happines to discharge my heart to you, that is full of observations and above all things devoted to doe you service. Almighty God give your Lordship health.

Your Lordship's most humble servant,

TH. R:

Dansicke, 10 Dec. 1629.

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On Dec. $\frac{16}{26}$ Roe wrote to the King that he was delayed. The Elector of Brandenburg had begged him to meet him, as Oxenstjerna "had made a transaction of all the territories of Danzig beyond the Vistula, contrary to the sense and expounded meaning of the treaty; wherupon the King of Poland hath appointed new Commissioners to complain and protest, and ther is great cause to fear a confusion of business." Again, on Jan. $\frac{9}{19}$, he wrote that Oxenstjerna still refused to meet the deputies of the city, "and unless the King of Sweden purpose to use that which he will exact of the public, as he hath long pretended, I see no cause so much to yield to him, which the State of Holland doth begin to feel sensibly, the King of Denmark utterly to dislike, and under which the free cities do groan. I have here heard a report that the States of Sweden assembled in Parliament have remonstrated that their kingdom is exhaust of men and money, and that is true; that they have shorn themselves to aid their King against his enemy, but that with the Emperor and Germany they have neither quarrel nor interest; and therefore they desire to be excused to be engaged in a new war. This perhaps may be what the Imperialls wish, and cannot aver it, but I know the new levies are superseded."

## *XXII. Sir Thomas Roe to Viscount Dorchester.*

RIGHT HON^ble MY VERY GOOD LORD,

I have lately oppressed your Lordship with letters and narrations, if at least they pass safely, for I have not knowne that any one sent your Lordship is come to hand since my departure from Copen- State Papers, Poland. Jan. 24 / Feb. 3 1629-30.

hagen, though I have written many and by divers wayes; of whose safe arrivall I should be glad to heare, especially of a great packet by Mr. Gordon's servant of the 19 Sept. with a large relation of the circumstances and passages of the treatye of truce, with the articles and letters of divers princes to his Ma^tie^, which if it have miscarried will make all that followed descure, having reference to matters supposed to be foreknowne. A catalogue of all I insert in the margen, that your Lordship may find what is missing. In my last I gave account of such collections as I had made of the King of Swede's resolution to goe into Pomerland and the contrarye, for the probabilityes are great both wayes, and he will declare to none in any confidence but where he may draw profitt. In that letter I promised your Lordship to endeavour by conference with the Chancellor of Swede (being to remove to Elbing to order the treatye with Dansicke) to discover more, whereon to rayse a judgement, which is the subject of this letter. The proceedings and success of the convention of the Commissioners of Swede and Dansicke, this day begun, shalbe the matter of another, that breathing betweene they may both seeme the less tedious.

7, 17, 29 Sept.

13, 29 Oct.

11 Dec.

9, 24 Jan.

I must begin first with a narration of all the conferences I have had with the Chancelor since my arrivall here, and of other gatherings, observations, and advises that concerne this busines, or reflect upon yt, that from the whole I may draw a conclusion of my sense and opinion, humbly submitting it to his Ma^tie^ and hoping it may be usefull by application to other treatyes, or by taking a fitt oportunitye (which wilbe offered) to use the virtue, conduct, and prosperitye of this brave king.

I desired the Chancelor to cleare me in the various reports of the preparations of his King for Germanye, being necessary for them, that their friends might conforme with them at least for good correspondence and the encrease of mutuall confidence betweene their Ma^ties^ our masters; and, whither war or peace were resolved, to distinguish to me the latitude of their purposes, eyther to make the war for the generall cause or for the Kyngs owne interest of

Meckelburgh and the Balticque sea, without the securitye whereof I know he will never thinke himselfe safe in Swede, and ther is no prince that foreseeth more penetrating and preparing *a longè futuris rebus*, except only the Spaniard, who lookes as far as Domesday, wherin he scarce beleeveth; or, in case of making peace, what ease, comprehension, or advantage the publicque might expect from yt.

He protested that he could assure nothing but only that his King was fully purposed at his departure to carry his army into those parts for his owne interest, and there to proceede according to occasions eyther of the access and ayd of his friends or the strength and actions of his enemies. In which resolution he knew no change. I told him what rumors were spread of a beginning of a treatye with the Emp^r and such particulars as he must know came from himselfe, hoping he would more freely discover that which he saw he could not safely nor handsomely dissemble. Then he confessed that he had received letters from his King, that there were overtures made of peace from the Emperor, and that the King of Denmarke had offered himselfe as a mediator, but upon what conditions he pretended ignorance of any declaration authentically from his master; but by other wayes he sayd he had beene advertissd that the Ansiaticque townes had resolved to enterpose, and that to that end one Mons. Walleran, formerly employed by Wallstein in the treatye betweene the Emperor and Denmarke, had beene sent privatly to confer with some friends of the King of Swede to sound the foord, by which meanes and with what hope they might proceede. The first poynt propounded was: the Swede could not make peace with his owne securitye unless he were freed of all feares and care in the Balticque sea, to which this explorator answered that the Emperor would give him full satisfaction. The other replyed, that the King of Swede did expect realityes and fact and would trust upon no promises nor written securityes in a matter that concerned his safetye. Whereunto Walleran sayd, that also should be done and the Imperiall fleete dissolved. The friends answered that was not sufficient as long as the ports remayned in

their power; ships did growe and might be repayred when opportunitye required. And it was replyed in that also they should have content, and that Wismar and Rostock should be sett at libertye and restored *pristino statu*. The other, following the streame, sayd that they did not thinke the King was secure with the surrender of those townes, nor could with his honor abandon the Princes of Meckelburgh, his nearest kinsmen, nor would make any peace without their full restitution. To which Walleran answered, that was a hard knott not so easely untyed, in respect of the investiture and the meritt of Wallestein both to the Emp^r^ and Empire, but if a treatye were constituted he did not doubt there might be found some temper and accomodation; upon which conference it was written that some Amb^r^ were dessigned to goe to his master, eyther from the King of Denmarke or the Hans-townes or both, but that he did not know of any arrived to that end. This the Chancelor professed was all he could say, and this later dialogue not from his master, and therfore he gave it no other creditt then an ordinarye rumour (and I thinke he told it me to gett an appetite in us), but if any such offer were made that he thought his king would resolve according to the propositions and the securitye of them, or his owne meanes and occasions.

I earnestly moved him to declare ingeniously his own opinion and what he thought of his master's inclination and ends and what were those occasions that might incline him to peace or war. He answered that all the world did know and must beleeve that his King had just causc and fervent desire to have his revenge of the Emperor both for his particular and the publicque. In his particular, for the safetye of his owne kingdome, and in requittall of the coloured invasions and ayds sent by the Emperor against him, and for respect of the house of Meckelburgh so neare allyed to him, whose destruction he could not well digest, and the oppression of his unckle the Bishop of Bremen. For the publicque, in the first place, for the releife of the Electoral Palatine, with which formerly the kings and crownes of Swede had kept strict correspondence

and were united by antient offices of love above all other in Germanye. And particularly for the cause of the King of Bohemia, for whom he was willing to expose his life and fortune. But that it did not become the wisedome of his master to embrace so great a quarrell alone, knowing his owne strength unable to oppose the whole house of Austria and the Empire. For that which concerned his owne interest, and that of the Princes of Meckelburgh comprehended in yt, he did assure himselfe the King would provide for his safetye eyther by war or treatye, as his owne occasions and necessityes should direct him; because, being alone and depending on his owne counsells, he knew whereto to trust, and might take or leave, proceede or retyre, without the offence of any and *sine periculo tentare fortunam*, having his owne ships and a port open. But to enter into the generall quarrell (though his desires and courage did invite him, and that he was willing to spend all his meanes, eaven to some hazard of his owne), without being assured by confederacye of a sufficient ground to goe thorough the war and to be able to beare some check or adversitye, he thought no friend would counsell or expect it from him. But if he might be supplyed with means in a generall war directed to one scope and end and constantly prosecuted by a league, in which case he could not retyre nor take conditions for himself without generall consent, that, as he did beleeve the King would embrace it above all other dessignes, so he, the Chancellor, would counsell him not to make any peace in Pomerland, but to give the glorye to his crowne to have beene *Restitutor Germaniæ*. I desired him to intimate to me what confederation it was, and what proportion he did expect that might content his King, for that the generall propositions given me to send to his Ma^tie^ were so vast and unlimited that no certeynty could be extracted out of them. Because the world did report and beleeve that already the King had entered into league and conditions with the French and the States of the United Provinces, which if it were true it were requisite to acquaynt my master freely, that he might concurre and conforme his counsells and actions to

the common end. He answered that ther was no such thing done, that it was true the French ambassador had proposed to contribute monye and pretended to have full power to treate, but when it was examined he wanted power to conclude. That when he went from hence in Oct. last he reported he had received new commission of plenepotence; but being arrived in Swede it was found so generall, consisting of offers and declarations of his king's desire and projects of diversions, that nothing could be made of it. And that therfore he was dispatched with this answere & no more, that if the French King did really purpose any such matter that he should give absolute power to his ambassador resident at the Haghe, & that the King of Swede would doe the like to Camerarius to treate, conclude, and bind.

For Holland it was likewise true that his master had given commission to his resident and Falkenberg to negotiate a confederacye, and to that purpose he had entered into particular offers, but during the summer the States were so embroyled in the war and since so perplexed with diversitye of opinions for peace, that the motion had layne asleepe and nothing fully determined. That it was further true the King had beene invited by the Duke of Wirtenburg, some other princes, and free townes, but no resolution nor proportion declared, but generalityes and concurrence, to which his master could not trust. That in the Elector of Saxe there was no hope, in Brandenburgh uncerteynty what he would resolve or was able to performe. In generall, that now all did depend upon the new treaties of the Haghe, for if they made peace it would wholly alter not only the state of affayres, but the thoughts of all the princes in Germanye. But that, if the kings and princes did desire that his master should undertake the cause, first he would esteeme it a great contribution to be assured that the French would constantly prosecute the war in Italie & not make peace alone, though he gave the less. Secondly, that the States should be obliged to continew the war & to exercise the Spaniard untill the treatyes might be generall, and that then if his Ma^tie^ for his part would make a league

(into which he was assured many princes & citties would enter & contribute accordingly to their abilitye) he did then know his master would joyne with them, or els that he must accomodate to his owne meanes & occasions. But above all things, if he should embrace the war, with this condition, that he might be secured of the King of Denmarke, whom he knew the Emperor would stir up to divert him & of whom he had most jealousye, wherein he thought the authoritye of his Ma^tie^ both for propinquitye of bloud and other meanes to restreyne the King from any such attempt would be of most efficacye.

Since this conference Zavadsky the Poles' secretarye told me that he heard at the court the Emperor would take the advantage of the article in the generall truce to be comprehended on that syde, and had signifyed privatly that within the tearme of 5 monethes limited therein he would publicquely declare, which is another ground of a treatye.

In another occasion of answering an objection of the Poles, that the Swedes' horse were not drawn out of Prussia, according to the treatye, the Chancelor told me, *in confidentiâ*, that he had made such excuses as he could, but to them he might not give the true reason, which was that they were kept togither to march into Pomerland in the spring, on which his master was resolved for divers necessityes.

At a second meeting he acquaynted me with an advice that the King of Denmarke did arme & rayse troopes, which did much perplexe him, & desired me to communicate what I had heard & what I did judge therof. To which I answered that I had received the like news, but that I could not imagine it was done in any prejudice or opposition of his master, which would be odious to all Germanye. Besides, that the King of Denmarke was a prince that highly prized his honour, he could not be so blinded in judgement as to ayd or trust the house of Austria. I gave him assurance of that King's profession to me in my last negotiation with him, that he had not made peace in despayre of the common cause, nor with so full satis-

faction that he might not in good occasion review the accounts. That therfore ther was no subject of umbragiousnes, first because the troopes were few, such as were only fitt for defence & garison. Secondly, that the King of Denmarke, beleeving his master would descend in Pomerland, and knowing that the war would draw neare his frontyre, every wise prince would stand upon his guard & prevent a surprise: that especially the King of Denmark had reason so to doe, because after the departure of the Imperiall troopes the last spring he had seased Femeren and many places of the bishopricque within Holstein, which he must eyther quitt to the enemye or prepare to defend. Lastly, that, the pretensions of his sonnes being not renownced, he might hope to find by the help of the King of Swede an oportunitye to advance them, but that ther was any thought to check or divert the glorious enterprises of his master, which were directed principally in favour of the Princes of Meckelburgh & for the libertye of the Baltiçque sea, in both which the interest, profitt, & safetye of both kings was common, no man of common sense could beleeve or conceive. He replyed that he hoped so, and that the letters of the King of Denmarke to his master upon his last peace were loving and full of assurance of good vicinitye. But yet an antient accumulation and some late passages were not free of suspicion. First, he sayd, ther was lately an ambassador arrived with his King from Denmark, with a sleeveless message concerning the indiscreet busines of the Rhyngrave (wherof your Lordship may have heard, for I will not soyle my paper with it), which he did not thinke worthy of so much care, nor that the King of Denmarke would in earnest draw it into any dispute or consequence, but that the colour was taken to observe the preparations and to discover his masters counsells. Secondly, that the King of Denmarke had since written to persuade & mediate a peace, which showed no affection to see their troopes in Germanye. Lastly, that the Secretarye Gonthier had made divers journyes & had sundrye secrett conferences vith Walstein, which were purposely disguised & hid from Sir Rob^t Amstruther & were yet unpenetrated.

To all these jealousies I gave such answeres as my present cogitations could present. In conclusion he seemed satisfyed, yet with this restriction, that his master would not embrace the generall quarrell without securitye of that king by the mediation of his Ma^tie^, which, though it may be suspected for a subterfuge, yet the prevention in the first place is worthy of his Ma^ties^ care and consideration; and that in case of prosecuting his owne privat interest in Meckelburgh he would also leave sufficient garrison to defend his owne, for nothing was more dangerous to any prince then to trust to others when he may trust himselfe.

This is all I can present to your Lordship on which to ground your owne judgement & of which in this conjuncture of treatyes I suppose you may draw some profitt, and because the busines doth appeare intricate, the discourses counteying probabilityes both wayes, according to my promise, I will give my opinion, humbly submitting it to your Lordship's correction. In all my observations and practice in these parts, from many circumstances, I have resolved that the King of Swede did intend conquest and enlargement of his dominion, but especially to be master of this sea, the ports & trades therein, & from thence to rayse himselfe a revenew, to maynteyne the one without charge of the crowne of Swede & to serve him for subsidye in any other war, and in the meane tyme to enterteyne an opinion that he would in the end doe great matters for the common cause, under which shadow he hath well done his owne busines. Now he sees he must take off the masque and declare, and finding no aydes offered him (with which I doe beleeve he would undertake the war, for his spiritt is far above his meanes), that he resolves to make a peace advantagious to himselfe, and necessarye to make his new conquests profitable, and to save his honour with the world by a show & apparance & by casting the blame upon others, yet so that, by the reputation of his arming, which the Imperialls feare, he may procure by treatye the libertye of the sea, & the restitution of the Princes of Meckelburgh & the retirying of the Emperor's forces from these parts; all which con-

cerne his owne safety & interest, which if he cannot obteyne I doe beleeve he will make a brave & bold attempt, being sure of his retrayct, & knowing he shall make the better peace being in the field and armed. To which end he hath made provision of forty thousand last of corne and 1000 firery wagons, a new invention of war, & hath fitting and contracted for 300 ships & vessels to transport his men, victualls, & munition to Stralsond. And, howsoever he may in the meane tyme enterteyne a treatye, I am of opinion he will not conclude it untill he have landed there; first, because he cannot licence his horse safely so neare his new lands without entyre satisfaction; and that, having appeared within the lists and openly offered himselfe upon the place, if he find no such solid aydes as he doth require, he may retyre, *son honneur à couvert*, and defend himself from any objection; but that he wilbe far engaged without supply is not in my creede, for he is the king of the world now that best knowes and does his owne busines.

To these circumstances I may add, that the King hath publicquely professed that he will make no peace untill he hath drawne his sword in Germanye and spoke one word for the Prince Elector Palatine, for that was his owne phrase, and it is sayd here that the stay of the levies of Coll. Kniphusen, which were made in the eyes of the Emperor, was done only to disguise his ententions & to give the enemye hope of accomodation, & consequently not to bee too vigilant in preparations, but that underhand ther were new orders sent out to make less noyse; & we see he doth take upon him the troopes of the Elector of Brandeburg and Dansicke dismissed, to the number of 4000, and fills up all his Dutch regiments here. Lastly, the Chancelor doth begin to treate candidly with the Dansickers and to compleate the truce with Poland, as if they were desirous of peace & to have no impediment from these parts. All these I consider may be arts and gallant boutados, and I trust not in them, for here is somewhat to doe for the Kings revenew, for which they must nourish a good opinion that they will employ it well. But I will conclude that I am confident he will attempt

somewhat, and take and leave as the wayes are easy or difficult, and according to such aydes as shalbe presented, and that he will treate in the field *l'espée à la main*, to come off with more honour among his enemies & defence of himselfe toward his friends.

This being the estate of this affayre, as far as I can collect, his Ma^tie^ may worke and apply these counsells to the present treatyes in other parts in case of necessitye of war, to apprehend the oportunitye, and to take this martiall prince at the first bound in Pomerland, & to engage him bravely, whose declaration, reputation, & conduct will give new life to the good cause, and, if it must be peace, that it may be treated in conformetye & with common counsells, which will advantage all parts. For myselfe I have no power to goe farther, but I will use all my witts & sinews not only to keepe him in hope, but to settle him a revenew that wilbe equall to a good contribution upon the trades, which wilbe easely borne, & among many insensibly, & without which the trade it selfe would be more burthened or shutt up.

This letter hath already exceeded the proposed limitts, but, seing I doe only propose and relate which is my dutye, your Lordships benignetye will call the presumption zeale to his Ma^ties^ and the publicque service, and continew me the grace & sanctuarye of your protection, as in his I humbly desire God to keepe your Lordship.

Your Lordship's most humble servant,

THO. ROE.

Part of the substance of this letter that concerneth the purpose of the King of Swede I have written to the King of Bohemia, not knowing his Ma^tie^ hath any minister at the Haghe, the ambassador being as I heare gone for Bruxells & Mr. Carleton for England, neyther have I received one letter but from Mr. Carleton.

Elbing, 24 Jan. 1629, s.v.

On Feb. $\frac{6}{16}$ Roe wrote to Dorchester, still dating from Elbing, that Oxenstjerna had written to the King to allow him to disband some of his horse in Prussia, "lamenting the misery of the country, not able to feed them, and want of money to contain them in any discipline, to which, as I am secretly informed, he received a sharp answer that he should follow his instructions and not meddle nor trouble himself with the King's designs until he were called, but attend his government and use all his wits to keep the troops whole, and to find them means to subsist until the spring, and to leave the rest of the care to dispose and pay them to his Majesty. The Chancellor told me that he had order to recruit all the regiments here, and not to reform any. He daily takes on new and treats with those colonels that are licensed in Poland. So that he enters into infinite charge, and will have in these parts, besides his Swedes and his new levies in Germany, 17,000 foot and 5,000 horse, whose officers have order to be ready to march in April. His whole army, being drawn together, will consist of 30,000 foot and 8,000 horse for the field, leaving good garrisons in Prussia, Livonia, and his new lands. Provision, munition, victuals, and a fleet are making ready in Sweden to transport and attend the King, and they deny not that this preparation is made for Pomerland."

### *XXIII. Sir Thomas Roe to Sir Robert Anstruther.*

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

State Papers, Poland. Feb. $\frac{7}{17}$, 1629-30.

I have received two letters from your Lordship since I wrote to you and by them perceive the safe arrivall of all myne, to those of the 8 Jan. Since I have borne a great adventure, having written of the 14 Jan. to my Lord of Dorchester, enclosed by Mr. Gordon to you and to the King of Bohemia of the 21 Jan. in a cover to Sig^re Marco Calendrino, to be delivered to your Lordship, and my last of the 26 Jan. to yourselfe, with another for England, with a flying seale, that you might see my thoughts of the present estate of affayres here, and know the grounds and hopes conceived of the passage of the King of Swede into Germanye. I shalbe most glad to heare that all those are safely come to you, and then I shall thinke the danger past, or if any have miscarried to know which it is, that I may supply the matter. Judging nothing more requisite to his Ma^ties service then a clear knowledge of the proceedings and dessignes of this King and what use might be made of his virtue, by communication of counsells, eyther for war or treaty of peace, I have continued to enforme my Lord of Dorchester of all circum-

stances and passages, that your master may make his own judgement, and to poynt out such rocks and hinderances as may divert the purpose of war, which wee foresee in great preparations, and to show the opportunityes and advantages which may be apprehended to the good cause if God inspire us to know the season, which is a high poynt of wisedome. And therefore I will pronounce to your Lordship that I am confident the tyme wilbe offered, and that this brave king will appeare *districto gladio* in Pomerland, and take or leave, as he sees occasion, favour or admonish him, or that his friends come to him or forsake him. Therfore, if the publicque neede his ayd (which I feare it doth more then a trust in a Spanish treatye), lett him be taken at his own bound. It is our duty to watch and explore. I beseech your Lordship joyne with me to persuade in England and Hollande to embrace this opportunitye to consider it and weigh it, at least if the reede of our treatyes[a] fayle us; for, if it be overslipt, I have discharged my duty and conscience; he will make his peace not only with the Emperor, but perhaps with the Catholicque League, which hath beene proposed to him, and enjoy glorye and profitt enough in his new conquests, having forced the Emperor to stoope to conditions good for himselfe, and so he will rest, and never hope more nor thinke of us, who did not *prospicere rebus nostris* while it was yet to-day. Now is the tyme, which if we lett escape will never returne to us from Swede; for, though the king may keepe a bodye and forme of militia, yet he will lincense his horse and ease himselfe of his great charge, and goe home and gett children, to make war that way against the posterity of the King of Poland, which all his nobilitye desire. Now he is armed, his bloud warme, the expence of leavies borne, his soldiers veterans, *ad oram Rubiconis*, yet he is so wise a prince that he will not pass over unless his friends build the bridge. He may make a gallant attempt and bravado, but he will never be engaged *sine fundo* in all tempests *ubi jacere anchoras*. A sudden prosperity may entice him beyond his first ends, which are his owne safety, and spinne out a

[a] *i.e.* the negotiations with Spain.

naturall ambition, but it were not providence in us to trust so great a game to fortune Therefore, my Lord, doe what you thincke is fitting for his Ma^ties service, and, if you will make me the author of this instigation, send the coppy of my letter freely. I am content not only to avow what I write and to adventure any censure, but to be an holocaust for my King and that distressed cause which can never revive but by the union of our master and Swede with Holland. To ease myselfe and to assure the confidence I repose in your Lordship's judgement and favour to me, I send you also this with *cachet volant*, that you may digest and apply my grounds where you find they may be profitable.

And because there are many things which seeme to oppose the dessigne of the King of Swede, especially jealousyes, perhaps sowed by the enemye, and perhaps taken up as a subterfuge, yet it is our part to remove all and to plane and prepare the way as smooth as we are able, at least to provide to ourselves this comfort, not to have fayled by our owne negligence. And therfore to your Lordship I will further ad an increase of jealousye of the King of Denmark; a poynt I have formerly touched in my other letters, and wherein you may exercise your prudence that it take not roote, and use the advice so tenderly that it nourish not, nor kindle a sparke that easely flameth. I saw a letter to the Chancellor of Swede that one Enhuse, a man favored of the King and Prince of Denmarke, and Coll. Hulke, had both taken service of Wallenstein, and a coppy of his letter to that king, that he accepted them *in gratiam regni, Regisque Daniæ*, and that he had chosen Hulke to putt in garrison in Newstatt, hearing of the great preparations of the King of Swede, as one in whom his Ma^tie had mutuall confidence. This correspondence is scandalous, and I beseech your Lordship penetrate into it; ease us of the feare, and apply such remedies both from England and from your owne authority in that court, where you have so much knowledge, as may take away all stumbling, offence, or doubt of diversion on that syde, and all suspition, the stepmother of good accord, on this.

I will propose one consideration more. By the sparkling of these jealousies I have discovered an emulation, naturall to so neare neighborhood, betweene these two brave Kings of Denmark & Swede, who should both be deare to us, *multis nominibus*, and nourished in mutuall confidence and friendship. But I foresee some seedes that may fall into too fruitfull earth, and bring forth dissention betweene them, so malicious is the divell, if the wisedome of his Ma^tie^ prevent it not, and I know no so safe and profitable way as by a stricter league among ourselves and employment of the King of Swede elsewhere to the common ends; wherein the King of Denmark shall reape part of the securitye and profitt, perhaps, for greatnes of stomack, against his will. But I enter too deepe into future matters, though I know this to be no panique and vague feare, and will conclude that, howsoever my zeale may transport me, the soule of wisdome is foresight and prevention, and my master shall not only have comfort but honor in moderating the ill humours of the world and disposing them to his owne and the publique service, which God prosper to him and him to his church; to whose gratious keeping I committ your Lordship. Resting,

Etc.

Elbing, $\frac{7}{17}$ Feb^r^, $\frac{1628}{1630}$.

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## *XXIV. Sir Thomas Roe to Frederick, titular King of Bohemia.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MA^tie^,

I wrote your Ma^tie^ a very large letter of the 21 Jan. directed to Sig^re^ Marco Calandrini in Hamburg, wherein I presumed not only to give you account of my labours in these parts, but what I could collect of the dessignes of the King of Swede to pass into Pomerland or to make peace with the Emperor, and my humble opinion how to apply his resolutions to your Ma^ties^ service. I have nothing to recant in that letter; for, though I know what the practices for peace are, and from whom they move, yet I see the preparations

State Papers, Poland. Feb. $\frac{13}{23}$, 1629-30.

against it increase, and doe constantly beleeve that an occasion wilbe offered, if God inspire those that neede it, to apprehend it.

Monsieur Charnacé, the French ambassador, being in his way home as far as Denmark, mett there with new letters and orders to returne to the King of Swede, which he instantly did. Nothing is discovered of his instructions but that it is beleeved he hath received larger commission to give some assurance of contribution, or to negotiate a confederacye; and, though this king seeme not to trust in the French, yet we hope it may keepe him from precipitation. God send the one constancye and the other prosperitye.

Colonell Kniphaussen, returned also into Swede, brought better assurance of good affections in the King of Denmark, which hath much eased one care; and, howsoever it may be act of eyther syde, it is a necessary care to preserve a good understanding betweene those crownes, of which there is more neede then is fitt for me to write; but your Ma^tie^ will receive more certeyne enformation from Sir Robert Anstruther, into whose province it were presumption in me to enter.

Fresh troopes dayly arrive in Swede, and I am confident that the king will not be the first to conclude peace untill he hath drawne his sword on the place and offered himselfe to the generall cause, which oportunitye, if it be overslipt, will never return from Swede; but he will carry peace in tryumph, grounded upon his owne reputation and the feare of the enemie, which is a solid foundation.

Here have beene (returning from the Elector of Brandeburgh) ambassadors of the Duke of Pomerland with the prince. They negotiated a meanes to make peace, both fearing to have their countryes made *sedes belli.* With the Chancellor of Swede they only made enquiries and discoveries what were the King's intents, but I thincke they advanced nothing anywhere but to know here was no power to enterteyne or declare any thing.

I cannot perceive that the Elector hath taken any resolution nor made any appoyntment with the King, but that now, returning to the marquisate, he doth depend on a convention with the Duke of

Saxe, according to whose counsells he may eyther declare or must suffer patiently, for, though in effect his countrye is lost, yet he is loth to see the King of Swede land in Pomeran, to give occasion to the Emperor to lodge upon him and to have his owne house first pulled downe, to stay the generall fire. Such is the case, that it is hard to judge whither the medicine or disease be most dangerous; it is like cutting for the stone, and doth require a brave courage to resolve to buy ease at the perill of life. The next weeke I shall meete his Highness at Marienburg, where I will doe as God shall inspire me, for I have no direction. The hope of all my intentions being thus squared, that if it be requisite to treate peace, that it may be generall for Germany and all the princes and religion oppressed together, which may be hoped, if the severall treatyes of his Ma^tie^ and the States and the King of Swede were joyned and carried with common counsells and ends. But if their ministers shall discover that falshood (which it is honest to feare), that these treatyes of the house of Austria be only to seperate friends and to rocke occasion asleepe, whose eyes should ever be waking, that then by a well formed and grounded union war may be declared, denounced, and made together. So whither the election shalbe peace or war, if those three were first strictly colleagued, eyther might be undertaken with more securitye and foundation, and the lesser princes might refuge under that shadow with more assurance, and in the worst event it wilbe safer and more honor to strive and struggle then to lye downe. And the enterteyning of a treaty by the King of Swede should not make others negligent: for honor will bring him into the field, if but to seeme to invite those that perhaps he thinks will not come, and there is the subject of wisedome to take tyme, and I am constant if a league be offered him from us and Holland that he will take it. Howsoever it is a base and abject estate to despayre, and therefore while there is one star shining your Ma^tie^ will give me leave to hope and to endeavour, which is the office of a man, and leave the judgement to God. I will presume to ad one word more: this King hath solemnly pro-

tested that he will not depose armes untill he hath spoken one word for your Ma^tie^ in Germanye (that was his own phrase), and glorye will contend with policye in this resolution, for he hath unlimited thoughts and is the likelyest instrument for God to worke by in Europe. We have often observed great alterations to follow great spiritts, as if they were fitted for the tymes, certeynly *ambit fortunam Cæsaris:* he thinks the ship cannot sinke that carries him and doth thus oblige prosperitye. If he deceive me, I feare he will have to good an excuse against his accusers, and I had rather be deceived in him then by ourselves, for there is no greater comfort in adversitye then not to fayle ourselves. If I knew not your Ma^ties^ benignitye, I would not use this libertye: but, having no other way to employ my talent, I presume to write my thoughts both to my owne master and to you and then, as I ought to submitt them. I know not how the treaties in England and Holland proceede; but, being desired by the Baron Zierotin (who constantly professeth his service to your Ma^tie^) to move you that if there be any meanes in a generall treatye to deliver him from banishment and adversitye that you will vouchsafe to remember his sufferings, being resolved to seeke no other way but by your Ma^tie^, I have done the office which I promised, not doubting your owne wisedome and goodnes best knowes what is fitt and possible to be done for him. I humbly aske leave to kiss her Ma^ties^ hands; and this first fault to omitt to write I hope she will pardon in him that prayes for both your Ma^ties^ with the devout heart of

Your Ma^ties^ most humble servant,

THO. ROE.

Elbing, $\frac{13}{25}$ Feb. $\frac{1628}{1630}$.

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On $\frac{\text{Feb. 26}}{\text{March 7}}$ Roe wrote to Dorchester from Danzig: "I have finally taken my leave of the Chancellor of Sweden, who hath used me honourably, and, by letters, of the King. I have yet nothing to recant of my former . . . concerning his preparations and designs. I know well he entertains a treaty with the Emperor, but on conditions so gallant and advantageous to him and his friends, and so difficult to be obtained of the Emperor, . . . and that I see daily new forces raised and a diligence to take on

all that can be gotten by the disarming in Poland, Prussia, and Danzig, wherein the Imperials also labour for their part; yet I cannot believe he would cast away so great a charge without a full resolution to do somewhat, especially seeing I know he hath also taken time to resolve to the 20 April, expecting to hear the resolution of other princes, as his Majesty, the French, and the Lords the States; for accordingly he will either make war or peace: and this is a noble and brave proceeding, both with his friends and enemies, and if the opportunity be lost, as we must never expect the like occasion; so I have just cause to fear that he may fall into another quarrel, which I know would much discontent his Majesty, and were very pernicious to the public. The cause is tender, and I dare not touch it roughly; but I have discovered great ambition in that King, and that he aimeth at, above all things, to be Lord of that whole sea as well of the gates as of the storehouse and chambers,[a] and the least spark would kindle a fire between him and the King of Denmark, who I justly fear will give him cause as being either too envious or too imperial. This language his Majesty will vouchsafe to pardon me, for I am very privately advised, and from a hand of credit that knows it, that the King of Denmark, disliking the interposition of the King of Sweden in matters of Germany, sent privately to persuade the Duke of Pomerland to deliver the Isle of Rügen into his protection, which if he would do he would secure him from the landing of the King of Sweden, and that he would send all his ships to defend the coast, knowing that the other durst not attempt in the main,[b] if that island were kept and harbour given in it for his shipping. But the Duke of Pomerland utterly refused; whereupon Wallenstein despatched to Colonel Hatzfeld to work the Duke to consent, which shows too great and too secret an intelligence between them, and I know, if this practice were revealed to the King of Sweden, that he would revenge it, for he wants only occasion; and therefore his Majesty may both make good use of the intelligence to the King of Denmark, and will be pleased to take care of any breach between them, which would be mortal to the affairs in Germany, and ruin all trade in this sea, wherein the King of Sweden is grown already too great, and there is more cause to balance than to increase him."

## *XXV. Elizabeth, titular Queen of Bohemia, to Sir Thomas Roe.*

HONEST THOM,

Your letter was verie welcome to me, for I ame glade you are well in Barbarie, though I wish you in the same kinde here.[c] The King will tell you himself how much he esteems both you and your advertisements, which are indeed verie good, and, if the King of Sweden gett the Emperour to restore the Duke of Meckebourg, I

State Papers, Poland. March $\frac{5}{15}$, 1629-30.

[a] "storehouse and chambers" interlined in Roe's hand; deciphered "ports" in another copy.

[b] *i.e.* On the main land.

[c] *i.e.* As ambassador here.

know what both we and you, I belleeve, shall think. Sir Henry Vane is still heere and not like to stirr so soone: he carieth himself verie well, and is as little confident of the treaties with Spaine as we are, though by Dudlie Carleton, who is everie day expected heere out of England, we shall heere great matters from thence: when he comes I will lett you know what it is. The speech heere of truce is not so much as it was; all things in England are the same, without anie great change. The Queene my sister lookes to be brought to bed in June, and my brother is at Newmarquet. The King heere hath beene evill first of a sore throat and since of a weakness which took away his stomack, but after that an impostume or two broke out uppon his bodie he is well againe and I hope will be abroad at Easter: he was never so evill as he kept his bed with. The phisitians say that his desease is come from the misfortune he had last yeare in the water; indeed he was never well since; but I hope all is past. I write this to you because I know you will heare manie rumours of his sickness that may make you afrayed, and I ame sure you will be glade to heere he is so well, for I know and ame sure of your love to us. I hope at your returne you will come this way, which I shall be verie glade of. I dare speake more to you then write, and for your letters lett me ever know what I shall doe with them to shew them to this ambassadour or not and you may be confident I will, for I assure you that nothing shall ever make me other then

Your constant friend,

ELIZABETH.

I pray send me word if you have receaved the letter I writt you by Macquay. I shall wish you heere one Monday for to see a comedie, the Scornfull Ladie, acted by your cosen Honywood and some other of our countremen, to passe the time a little to the King.

The Hagh, this $\frac{5}{15}$ of Marche.

*XXVI. Sir Thomas Roe to Sir Robert Anstruther.*

MY HONORABLE LORD,

I have received your letters of the 3 and 4 present, being glad that all myne to that time have found safe passage. Since I have written you the dates in the margen. I infinitely thanke your Lordship for so much paynes taken to cleare and ease me in the objections and doubts infused to me of ill understanding betweene those princes whose prosperitye we both desire, and I wish it may prove as we desire. But you will find by a passage of my later letters that, though this Chancelor perhaps know no more then he opened to me, yet I have knowne of some offers made (and that is all I dare write without a cyphar) which both show a resolved disaffection and would have made an open quarrell. But God, that otherwise disposed that dessigne, will, I hope, inspire both their hearts to know *unam esse viam agros eorum per longum tempus possidendi: firmè inter se invicem pacem et concordiam colere*, which was the counsell of Epaminondas to the emulous republicques of Greece.

State Papers Poland. March $\frac{12}{19}$, $\frac{1629}{1630}$.

Our discourse of this King hath a tertian fever. One day brings matter of confidence, the next of doubt. The preparations of the armye are constant, and the Secretary Grobb, newly arrived out of Swede, hath brought orders for mony now given out to all the regiments for their recrews; on the other syde, the comming hither of the Baron de Dona from the Emperor to treate (of which I enformed you the last weeke) is confirmed, merchants having received orders to provide mony for him; and Mr. Sanderson, whom I credited as a secretarye to resyde in that Court, hath written hither, that, though the provisions for war goe on, yet that the resolution of passing the sea doth depend of the actions of Sir Francis Cottington in Spayne. These are the two particulars which most trouble me, that the treatye is brought home to the dore of the King of Swede, and the pre-

[illegible]

[illegible] to doe when I fill to play with [illegible] whom the weakenes of men made a [illegible] letting your Lordship know [illegible] and hope to sett sayle within 10 dayes to [illegible] shall direct me, at least if I can procure to [illegible] being bound for the Sond; but if I must goe [illegible] I shall find meanes to transport myselfe according to occasion

or your Lordship's commands, whom I pray God to keepe, and your noble Lady, and all your famelye, in health and honour, and to the joy of

Your Lordship's most humble and affect. servant.

Dansicke, $\frac{18}{28}$ March $\frac{1622}{1630}$.

[*Indorsed*] To Sir Rob. Anstruther, 19 Mar. 1629.

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*XXVIII. Sir Thomas Roe to Sir Robert Anstruther.*

MY NOBLE LORD,

All my carriage being aboard I lye here wynd bound, and expect every hower to be called away; passage to Lubecke I cannot gett, so that I take what I can for the Sond, where I beseech you that your help and counsell may meet me. I thanke you with a true heart for all the favours I have received from you, particularly for your last, that brought me letters from princes whom I honour, and for whose prosperitye I would spend that worst and last part of my life not worth the living. Good manners requires an answere, but I will entreat you to excuse me; what I could write I take no pleasure in, and I remember that David did conjecture of good newes because Ahimaaz brought it, who was a good man; but I have none to relate; let Cushi tell the rest. The Baron of Donau is here arrived with a seasonable trayne and is confident of peace; his enterteynment by the common people was little grateful, calling him openly and ironically the reformer and saviour of men's soules, for he is the persecutor of our religion, and the executioner of the tirannicall decrees agaynst the professors in Silesia. Here are dayly expected ambassadors from the King of Denmark, the Electors of Saxe and Brandeburgh as mediators, and shortly at Elbing from the King of Swede. Excellent friends; and I will leave them the same blessing which Cardinall Caraffa gave the gaping people of Paris when the holy father did unbind them from a generall inter-

State Papers, Poland. April $\frac{8}{18}$, 1630

diction and absolved them of all their sinns: *quis non crederit;* for when they flocked for the benefitt of a pardon he pronounced *Quandoquidem hic populus vult decipi, decipatur;*[a] yet there is no preparation for the war in apparance diminished. So that I hope more of the King of Swede's owne person then of all his countrye, for he is both *caput* and *cor regni;* he is all, and worth all, and we could not have left him without our owne help, and so are become wittily and industriously miserable. My Lord, you see my freedome with you. I will neyther write for England nor the Haghe, if you please to let them know why, I leave it to your discretion; and if you send my letter I care not, for I am so afflicted that nothing can add to it, being able to write nothing fitt to be read, and having received nothing at all from whence I expected, or of that little I have it had beene an happines to be ignorant. And so the good God bless our King and keep your Lordship in his sacred safetye.

Your Lordship's true humble servant.

Dansicke, $\frac{8}{18}$ Apr. 1630.

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*XXVIII. Sir Thomas Roe to Frederick, titular King of Bohemia.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MA^tie^,

State Papers, Poland. April $\frac{28}{30}$, 1630.

I have received your Ma^ties^ letters of the 6 March, being glad that myne of January were safely arrived in these jealous tymes; others I adventured of the 15 Feb. which I hope have had as good success. I left Prussia on the 16 of this moneth and arrived here the 19, desirous to have found the King of Denemarke to have finished my service; but he is in Holstein, and his removes are so uncerteyne that I cannot resolve whether to attend or seeke him; but a Parlament being here summoned within three weekes (in which it is thought the Lady Christienne shall come to tryall), I shalbe most sure to have leysure to wayt upon him. In the meane tyme, and not knowing whether I shall returne by Holland, the

[a] *Sic.*

whole sea being beleaguered with the vermyne of Dunkercque, I will presume to enforme your Ma^tie in what estate, at least in my judgment, I left the affayres of the King of Swede, and the preparations eyther to war or a treatye. The Baron of Donau, President of Silesia, arrived in Dansicke the 19 April, new stile, the day, as he pretended, of the appoynted convention of commissioners from the Swede and ambassadors from the King of Denmark to mediate and treate a peace, whose not appearing he seemed to take in ill part, yet hath patience enough to wayt for them. His comming and some practise in the cittye hath raysed a suspition that the Emperor hath intelligence among them which hath caused them to double their guards and to suspend the licensing of their soldiers, for they feare if the peace ensue not that the Imperialls will prevent the Swede and march into Prussia, or their territorye, to make it the seate of the war. But I thinke these are pannicque and burghers' feares, grounded on no reason, for we see that Wallenstein's orders in Pomeran make all provision for defence, and to contract his forces into the strengths and passes of that countrye and Markeland. The preparations both in Swede and Prussia proceed in the same measure both by taking on men and hyring ships, but the continuance of this charge doth not secure me, for if the King of Swede purpose peace he shall yet gayne his expense by show of war, and may with more ease beare an extraordinarye a few moneths then the war many, and therefore I feare we see the best syde.

Yet all the officers are of opinion that the King doth only temporise and meet the Emperor in his owne arts, and that they rather strive who shall prevayle by witt to steale one from the other an oportunitye then with a mind to depose armes. And there is much to make us beleeve it on the Swede's part (in the other it is habituall), because, as he will treate so he does proceed in action, for lately his garrison in Stralsond hath invaded and taken Rugen and driven the Imperialls into a corner, where, though they are fortefyed, they cannot long hold out. This island I know was the principall marke and ground of the King of Swede to pass into Pomeran, both

for his retraict and a safe station for all his fleete, munition, and provision, of which being possessed he is secure and wilbe greatly encouraged, and nothing doth more make me hope then that he hath begun prosperously there, and this newes hath extreamely altered the Baron Donau. The Chancellor of Swede, upon his arrival, removed further off to muster his army: and there hath beene none seene yet from Denmarke, and this also doth much assayle his patience. Lieutenant Colonell Ruthen arrived from Swede at Dansicke since the comming of Donau, and reports that the King had sent an expresse to his Ma^tie^ to know his resolution what help he might expect, and had answere none; but I beleeve it not, or else it is the same given Sir James Spence; for, seeing the delayes of Spayne, it is impossible that this occasion should be neglected or contemned.

He reports that Monsieur Charnacé, the French ambassador, being returned to the King of Swede, offered and brought creditt and effects for 200,000 dollars for a contribution, to be continued yearly; but the King, having no other ayd from other parts, refused it; yet proposed that if his Ma^tie^ would double it and give valuable assignations for payment and continue it untill the end of the war and make no peace in Italye *nisi communicatis consiliis*, that he would breake off all treatye, and proceed in his dessignes, the answere of which yet depends. If this be true, what a miserye it is to lose such an oportunitye, the terror, armes, conduct, reputation, and prosperitye of so brave a king and capteyne, lett those that flatter themselves judge, for a summe so contemptible, or the world must judge us blinded with perverse counsells or blasted with a ruynous fate; for if that summe would content him (which I ever judged and collected) it would make no difference from whose hands or from how many it were contributed; but, being able to doe nothing, I have yet sent to the Chancellor my last documents, rather to show my zeale and to discharge my conscience then in hope that words will make war: concluding that if a peace succeeds that not only the fayrest occasion that I have seene in all the war is given up, but

we ourselves, that most neede it, have not beene the least accessories. I send your Ma^tie^ the coppyes of my last letters to him; wherein you may find some advertisements that are not current; but such as I received them I made the best use of I was able; and now, having more leysure to praye, I refer the resolution to God, who only knowing the hearts of princes will direct them as his instruments to his owne purposes, which are blessed in the end; to whose gratious keeping I devoutly commend your Ma^tie^, and rest

Your Ma^ties^ most humble unprofitable servant.

Elsenore, $\frac{28}{30}$ Apr. 1630.

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*XXIX. Sir Thomas Roe to Elizabeth, titular Queen of Bohemia.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MA^tie^,

State Papers, Poland. April $\frac{28}{30}$, 1630.

I humbly kiss your Ma^ties^ hands for your gratious letters, which comfort me that my zeale to your service hath as much operation upon your goodnes as other mens prosperitye; and God knowes what I would doe or suffer; neyther doe I doubt that every thing I write is safe in your Ma^ties^ handes, nor will I ever doe any thing but what is honest to justefye, though sometyme it is not safe nor wisedome to be exposed to envye. I will write your Ma^tie^ no newes, being assured you must be my interpreter to the King, to whome I have written what I thinke usefull for his service, doeing the same in substance for England, where how my freedome is interpreted I know not, having in 6 moneths had no letter, order, nor answere, nor mony since my departure, which is but an ill symptome. Whatsoever you thinke may serve to publique ends your Ma^tie^ may freely communicate with Sir Hen. Vane or his Excellencye; but where I write like Thom. Roe and breake out, that passion the King may be pleased to smother. If Sir Henry Vane had eyther order or purpose to correspond with me it was his turne to give me occasion, but I thinke the divers natures of our employments imposed on us both a discreet silence. I am gotten thus far toward home in a ship called the "King of Bohemia," and carrying his

picture in our coulors; but, not finding the King of Denmarke in this island, I must stay him and new order, for my old is stale and I know not how to use it, neyther am I sure what way I shall take from hence, the sea being full of Dunkercque harpyes, whom I would be loth to visitt. I should be infinitely glad to see your Ma^tie^, for at Rhenen I conteyned myselfe, but there is also some cause that I would not see Holland, which was made a bayt to send me to the North, where yet I have done his Ma^tie^ honor and my country service, and effected all or more then was imposed on me: thus God doth bless his servants, and I will pray for your Ma^tie^ while I have life and the honour to be knowne to be now

Your Ma^ties^ most antient and most humble servant.

Elsenore, $\frac{28}{18}$ Apr. 1630.

After Roe's return, he heard of Gustavus's landing in Germany. "The landing," he wrote on Aug. 16th, 1630, to Mr. Sanderson, the English agent in Sweden, "of the King of Sweden in Germany (which few would believe here) hath raised him such a reputation that his Majesty hath taken it into serious consultation how to aid and supply him whose maintenance his own virtue hath endeared to us, and taught us to know how necessary he is to the general welfare and liberty of Christendom, as if he were elect of God for the great work. I should have returned to him, but upon more mature deliberation it was thought fit first to lay the foundation sure, and if he hold out this summer I am assured before the next spring his Majesty will send to him in such a fashion as shall be most acceptable. In the mean time we all pray for him; and you shall extremely value yourself with his Majesty if you do in a discreet manner and without obligation by intimation of these purposes encourage him, which I assure you are real, and, if I did not know it, for no advantage I would deceive that brave prince. Our treaty with Spain depends and is a secret to me, but that I believe the House of Austria will give up nothing they can hold for words nor without hard blows."

# APPENDIX.

## I. Instructions of Gustavus Adolphus to Sir James Spens.

Ane schort informatione gevine to Sir James Spens, Knyght, for helping his memorie to y^e mor large explicatione off y^e schort articles proposed concerning the league. State Papers, Sweden. Oct. [?] 1624.

What the King's Majestie of Sweden judgethe and thinkethe of the reparatione of the decayed caus of religione and principallie of the restitutione of the King of Bohemia, the said Sir James Spens hathe sufficiently understood, being present, and by the conditions off the league annexit persaivethe how it behowethe the King of Sueden to be secured, and what he thinkethe necessary, and also willethe his confederates to doe to that end.

Bot this it pleased his Majestie hier to repeat, that ther ar only tuo wayes by whiche his Majestie iff he must be orderer[a] of the bissines must mak his way, the one by the Wessell[b] passing throche Poll[and] to Silesia, the wyther[c] by the Wiser. The first doethe most please becaus it semethe most neirly to concerne the weilfear of this Kingdome, neyther hes it so many and so gryt impedimentes to hender. It hethe only Dansik to lett, whiche, being maid frendlie by the intercessione of the confederat freindes and brocht to a mor sound mynd, or then by force compelled to obedience, will mak the remanent proceding free and saiff. The wyther semes to hawe gryte difficulties bothe becaus of the abundance of strong and mychte tounes and the neirnese in frendship of dyvers Lordes, whois territories must be past throche and themselffis offendit: bot iff this

[a] "director" written above. [b] Vistula. [c] *i.e.* other.

last shall be mor approwethe by his Majestie and confederates, as it is credible that it wilbe for divers respectes, the Kingis Majestie of Sueden, will willinglie accommodat yourselff to the desyres and counsells of the rest, and will indeworr to restor Germanie by passing throche Germanie, seing it pleasethe not the rest that he pass throche Poll[and]. And that this matter may be undertakine by sum sur maner and withe good hope, his Majestie shall, in favoure of his confyderates and the comon cause, bring to the feldes and sustayne upone his owne chargis tuelff regiments off foott and tuo thowsand horsmen, wnto whom it shalbe necessar that the rest of the confederates joyne four and twentie regimentes off foot and sex thowsand horse. Besydes his Majestie shall bring with him als mony piece of canone and ordinance with wyther sort off all kynd of munitione as shalbe needfull for his camp, except only the suldeoures armes, whiche everie on of the confederates salbe holdine to furnise *pro rata* according to his pairt, or then they shalbe bocht withe one monthes wadges in manere as shalbe hierefter schawine: as for horse waggones and wictualles to the armie the rest of the confederates must prowyd them.

As for the charges of the war, in his Majesties judgment they must be so dewyded among the confederates that his Majestie shall tak upone him the third pairt, to witt, the pay of tuelff regimentes of foott and tuo thowsand horse, and whatsoever charges and expenses followethe them. Also the canon [a] and whatsoever is requyred unto them and all wyther kynd of munitione and ordinarie expenses whiche ar to be undergone for the exercise of the suldeoures, the defence of the camp in skarmises and battelles.

The Kinges Majestie of Gryt Brittane, and iff please him to joyne with him the generall esteates of the United Prowinces, shall sustayne the vyther third pairt off the burdine, to witt, the payment off 12 regimentes off foott and four thowsand horse, and the expenses for raising them. The rest of the confederat princes off Germanie and the tounes shall contribut so muche as may suffice to lifft and sustayne the wyther third part of the armie, consisting off 12 regimentes of foot and tuo thowsand horse, and shall provyd wagones and horses for the ordinance and ther instrumentes, puder and ball, as also neidfull wictuales for the

[a] "ordinance" written above.

arme; and so you shall supplie and mak out the third pairt of the charge.

The rest of the charge and expenses of the warr, to witt, the payment of generall officeres, the gryt quantitie of pulder and bullet, and wyther thinges whiche shalbe requyred in the longsum, and streatt beseeginges of gryt tounes and campes, shalbe devyded efter the samm maner among the said confederates, that on third pairt shalbe furnished by his Majestie, ane wyther third pairt by the Kinges Majestie of Gryt Bryttaine, and the resting third by the confederat princes and tounes.

Concerning the suldeours armes neidfull bothe to foott and horse, thei must be prepared and furnished efter the samm maner that everie on of the confederats prowyd all thinges for his ownne forces. Bot becaus it concernethe his Majestie abowe the rest, as being to be the leader off the armie, that all thinges may answer his disyr, and that nothing be vanting in the just tyme, and that the oportunitie of poorforming affaires be not lost, his Majestie estemes it fitt concerning the preparation of armes that everie on of the confederates shall delyver the armes for his pairt to the Kinges Majestie, iff they be in reddines; then (besyd the three mounthes wadges whiche must be givine beforhand) they shall ad and pay the fourt mounthes wadges and delyver it to him that shall hawe his Majesties power, to the intent that armes may be bocht in tyme; the whiche therefore (three monthes being past) may be deduced from the suldeoures wadges and rackoned in this payment, so that armes may be provyded for the suldeoures without extraordinaire charges or burding to the confederates. Above all it wer most to be wished that all they who grone under the yok of the house of Austria, having ther heartes rased and trusting in ther owne strenthe, durst be bold to profese ther names openlie and enter in this league, for perhapes therby ther suld be the lese labour and difficultie, bothe in liffting the suldeoures and in chasing the seat of the warr, and in proceeding; bot to him who shall mor exactlie ponder all thinges it is credible that many, being strikine and witholdine by the fear of the imminent and new perill, shall lurk so long till ane sufficient armie do sett foot in Germanie, unto the whiche they may safflie flie, and in the whiche they may rest secure of ther owne. Yet notwithstanding to help thos that ar ether unwilling, or who doethe not intreat and urge itt, is no less unjust then to involve friends unwillinglie

in war, fear, and the evills that theron do follow. Nether certanlie culd it be excused from temeritie iff any suld tak war in hand not being requysed (altho upone a most holsome intentione) in the whiche he war[a] not to be helped, bot shortlie deserted of thos for whois caus it wer undertakine. Therfor iff the matter shalbe seriously done, thes thinges must be tymouslie forsein and provyded for:—The King of Bohemia, for whois restitutione this labour must cheiflie be undergone, shall without delay try and searce the myndes of his friendes in Germanie, that he may throchlie know and understand who of them doethe approwe or disprowe the league and how muche everie on of his friendes will contribut in comone, that therby it may be rychtlie discerned what and how muche may be expected from his freindes and what may be feared from the rest, and principallie that it may be knowne that the princes of Germanie and tounes will tak upone them the third pairt of the expenses; and iff ther mycht be drawne to doe sumwhat mor, considering that yt concernethe them most, it wold be of greyte momente to the finishing of the war. When thes thinges shalbe certanlie resolved and understud, then a league is quyetlie to be maid with the princes and tounes of Germanie, whiche being maid and confirmed, the King of Gryt Brittane for the levying of the said twelf regimentes of foot and four thowsand horse, the princes and tounes of Germanie for 12 regimentes of foot and 2000 horse, shall delyver and contribute expenses requysett for liffting,[b] togidder with three mounthes pay, as also armes for the suldeoures or in place therof the fourte mounthes pay, that all may be innumerate and delyvered at the first of Marche the yeir next following, 1625, in his Majesties handes, or his who shall have power from him, without any diminutione, that the suldeores may be in tyme levyed and provyded of armes, and that his Majesties indevoures, labour, and expenses be not maid in vaine. The pay shall begine the first of May, for it will fall necessarie that in that mounthe the grytest charges be, and all thinges prepared. And when May, Jun, July, and August shalbe expyred, for the whiche that three mounthes pay and the armes shalbe gewine beforhand, then from the first of Septemher lett the pay of that mounthe, and so furthe from mounthe to mounthe, be in reddines, untill the tyme that

[a] were. [b] levying.

ane end be put to the war. Iff everie on of the confederates shall contribute efter this maner, his Majestie shall doo good will to hawe a full armie reddie in dew tyme. Bot iff this counsell be divulgat and the Emperor withe thos of that league doo oppose himselff to the levying publictlie of suldeoures in Germanie, it appearethe that the bissines must be undertakine efter this maner ; to witt, that his Majestie hawe in reddinese aganst the last of May nixtocum[a] his 12 regimentes of foott and 2,000 horse, and joyne also to their 2,000 Germane horsmen, whiche he can hawe in reddines aganst the appointed day to be in his companie or armie. He shall also find the meanes to levie four foott regimentes of Germanes as iff it wer to his ownne proper use; also ther may be in the midtyme levyed in Brittanie four regimentes of foott and in France wyther four regimentes, whiche shall land at Gotheburghe in May, and joyne them selffis to the King's armie, that so in the same mounthe of May the armie may consist off four and twentie regimentes off foot and four thowsand horse; off whiche regimentes, on regiment off foot must be lefft with the navie, whiche must be ridged out in the Germane Sea to defend the Germane Cost, and avert all hostill invasione from the kingdome of Sweden out of the sea. His Majestie with the rest of his foot and horse shall saile throche the Baltik Sea, and (leving in his navie three regimentes of foot for the desente therof, and that Sweden in the meantyme may be free from the hostill attemptes off Polland, as also that the transportatione of all necessarie thinges from Sueden may remaine free and nowayes impeded) shall have ane armie prepared and present off twentie regimentes of footh and four thousand horse.

The Kings Majestie, therfor, of Gryt Bryttane, shall consider whidder this armie consisting off aucht and twentie thowsand men be stronge aneuthe to resist the force and invasione of the Cesarranes, and fitt as thinges offer and occasione fallethe out to pase fordvart untill the tyme that the rest of the regimentes may be supplied and the horsmen gathered, and the wyther princes and tounes of Germanie may, and doe openlye, cum and profese ther names ; bot iff this armie in the beginning shalbe opposed by a stronge arme off the Empereur, so that it can not commodiouslie pase fordwart, yet notwithstanding no man of sound

[a] next to come.

judgment will deny bot that iff it bee rychtlie commandit it is powerfull aneuche to defend the cost and portes and to mak saiff acces unto the rest, untill ether it grow to ane just quantitie, or then be fortyfied [a] with ane wyther new armie, wherby it may commodiouslie marche aganst the enimie.

This also is necessare without whiche his Maj. can undertak nothing: to wit, that on portt may be open to his Maj. off the Baltik Sea in the cost of Germanie and ane wyther at the Veser, [b] for it is necessar that ther be a saife arryvell and a place where the suldeours may be landed, the armie ordered, and wherto everie on may reteir in saiftie, wher also the navie must ly at anker and attend. Iff this can not be obtined, it is easie to judge that the proceding will not onlie be difficill, bot impossibill; for first to open a way by force and armes is dangerous, bot that whiche cheiflie is to be considerit in this point is this, that the princes and cities which possese thes portes are friendes and may by no meanes be offendit; therfor, the King of Gryt Brittane and the King of Bohemia most indevour to draw into thear syd the Dooks of Mekilbrughe and the Bischope of Brem,[c] withe the cities of Lubec, Hamburghe, and Brem, as also the Count of Emden, and iff it be possibill they must obtayne from the Dook of Mekilbrughe with his favour and leawe that the port of Wismer [d] and toune may be open and patent to his Majestie his navie and armie. And from the rest that the portt off Brem, or sum wyther commodiouse toune, wold resave his Maj[esty] his navie and armie. Iff that can be obtayned a gryt difficultie is overcum; iff not, maine impedimentes will cast them selffes in the way off this erand that it can not commodiouslie be undertakine.

The difficultie also of schipping for carying and transporting the suldeoures from Sueden to Germanie cumes hier to be considerit, neyther is thear a more commodiouse remedie then that the Lordes the Estates Generall of the United Provinces do mowe ther citizens and subjectes to give to his Maj. the wse [e] of so manie of ther schipes as he shall haue neid of. And, seing the transportatione requyred gryt charges, that the rest of the confederates do equallie participate therof with his Maj., eache sustayning a third pairt.

[a] *i. e.* re-inforced. [b] The Weser.
[c] Bremen. [d] Wismar. [e] use.

Besydes it is not only profitabill for manie respectes but absolutlie necessar that the confederates obtayne the free use of bothe the seas Baltik and Germanie, without whiche nothing can be undertakine with any fruit, neyther can ther be maid any sure or commodiouse communication of thinges; and this can not be performed without two navies. In the Baltik Sea his Maj[esty] shall haue his owne navie, which shall attend in sum port of Germanie and shall secur his Maj[esty] off his returne in his owne kingdome, iff so matters do fall. Off this his Maj. shall hawe a care that it be stronge aneuche bothe in number and goodnes of shippes and furnished with all furnitour off war necessar to resist and repell by the grace off God all violence whiche may be attempted aganst his Maj[esty] and confederates in the Baltik Sea. It is necessar that there be ane wyther navie in the Germane Sea, whiche may war under the commandment of his Maj. in name of the confederates. For this use his Maj. hes now in reddinese anocht[a] war shippes in the port of Gothobrughe. Iff the rest of the confederates and cheiflie the King of Gryt Brittane will ether extraordinarlie furnishe money for bying sextein war schipes, or esteim it fitter that some diminutione be maid of the number of the suldeours, and that money be converted to the making up of that navie, thear may be ane brave navie prepared, whiche may conserve the use of that sea to the confederates and may not mak free intercours betwix Sueden and Germanie, that nothing be wanting ether to the sustayning or to the suplying the necessities and wants of the armie from Sueden, Brittane, France, the Netherlands, etc. The expenses of this navie and charges as weill in preparing it as in mentayning itt shalbe devyded amonge the confederates as the rest.

Sir James Spens must have a cair to understand betyme iff thes thinges be approved by the King of Gryt Brittane; and, iff thei please him, he mvst tak cair that the money for bying the schipes be in reddinese and delyverit unto the Commissioners of his Maj. when he cummethe, who shalbe peculiarlie appointed for that erand; whidder it be that his Maj. of Gryt Brittane will give the said money extraordinarilie for bying of the schipes or will deduce itt from the number of the suldeoures. It is requisit also that this may be maid quiklie knowne to his Maj[esty] that he may caus carie his ordinance for his shipping to Gothobrughe whill

[a] enough.

now the lackes and vateres are frosene with us; iff also it may be obtayned of the King off Gryt Bryttane that he wold furnishe to the navie a certaine number of irone ordnance it wold be off gryt moment to hestein and forder the preparation of the navie.

Morover Sir James Spens must sollicit and procur from the King of Gryt Bryttane that all Inglise and Scottes sayling throche the Baltik Sea and speciallie tovardes Dansik be prohibited to serwe the King of Poll. or any wyther (other) aganst the King of Sweden, and that they bring not any schip having ordinance too the portes of Spruce, and speciallie off Dansik, Elving, and Queinbrughe,[a] and that the King off Bohemia with the King of Gryt Bryttanes help obtayne of the Generall Esteates that no Holland schipes with ordinance seall to the said portes, muche lesse that they serve the King of Poll[and] or any wyther aganst the kingdome of Sweden, and bothe Inglishe, Scottes, and Netherlanders be prohibited to gowe them selffis in Warsaw to serwe the Poll or any wyther prince to the prejudice off the King of Sweden so long as his Maj[esty] is holdine bissied in this expedition.

Whatsoever of thes thinges shall pleas his Maj[esty] and shalbe approved by the rest of the Confederates it is necessar that with all diligence it be wrettine over hither, and the ambassadours from the Confederates cum to his Maj[esty] with pover to defyne and conclud.

This is word be word translated out of the Latine so nere as I culd.

---

## II. Gustavus Adolphus to Sir James Spens.

State Papers, Sweden. Mar. $\frac{3}{13}$, $162\frac{4}{5}$.

Gustavus Adolphus, D. G. gratiam et favorem nostrum singularem Magnifice nobis sincerè dilecte et fidelis. Redditæ nobis sunt biduo abhinc literæ tuæ datæ 21 Januarii ex quibus intelleximus te junctis consiliis rationem restituendi rem communem à nobis propositam, Regi Britanniæ ac Principi Walliæ aperuisse. Hos quoque studium nostrum de re communi bene merendi gratum habuisse, et ut nobis totius rei directio committeretur, et ut Rex Britanniæ tertiam onerum

[a] Konigsburg.

partem sustineret, consensisse, adjectis quibusdam clausulis, denique diem 30mo Aprilis et Hagam comitis conventus legatorum, per quos de fœdere ac toto negotio statueretur, constituisse, ob quam causam tu nobis autor es, ut nostrum isthuc Legatum mittamus, conditionesque ita moderemur, ne earum difficultate, onerumque gravitate pressi ac deterriti fœderati se subtrahant, quemadmodum hoc uberius literis tuis explicantur. Ut autem et mentem nostram, et quid te facere velimus, intelligas, scias optamus, nos temporis angustia, quo minus Legatum aliquem huic mittamus excludi, et si nobis sat temporis esset, pregnantibus rationibus abstineri, itinerum difficultas hoc anni tempore tibi nota est, sive terra, sive mari eundum sit. Quominus autem ista ablegatio nobis placeat, primo obstat communis per orbem de hoc fœdere volitans fama, noxia cœptis ausisque nostris, quæ misso legato, etiam quocunque sub pretextu, non premetur, sed magis adaugebitur; quæ quidem non adeo magni æstimandi esset, si de voluntate et deliberato proposito Regis Britanniæ, cœterorumque fœderatorum certi essemus. At si quid interveniat, ut facile intervenire posse intelligimus, quod hoc consilium vel mutet, vel interturbet, detrahet isthæc mutatio et aliquid nomini nostro, si id nimium affectasse videamur; Idque ut magis metuamus, facit hæc inopinata ac insolita præparatio bellica à Rege Daniæ instituta, quæ si pro salute cunctorum est suscepta, est certe quod ceteris gratulemur, ac nobis ipsis, quod isto onere liberati simus. Aut si eo directa, ut hos conatus nostros impediat, haud putamus æquum, nos tantæ tamque periculosæ causæ obtrudere, aut ingerere, nisi cæteris nos avide invitantibus sollicitantibusque. Præter cetera vero id considerandum est, quod tibi presenti sæpius diximus, tanti momenti negotium hoc esse respectu nostri, ut conclusio ejus fidei ac industriæ alicujus Legati committi non possit. Si enim de subsidio pecuniario, aut mittendo milite, aliisque id genus conditionibus fœderis agaretur, mitti sane possit, qui nostro nomine statueret; suscipere autem in nos ipsos directionem tanti belli conjunctam tot tantisque cum periculis oneribusque et nostris et Regni nostri, a qua non tantum salus, sed quod omnium est maximum, fama ac reputatio nostra dependet, multo majus est negotium, quam quod concludi absentibus nobis possit aut debeat. Hæc in causa fuere, quod Legatum, qui nostro nomine statueret, Hagam Comitis non miserimus, tibique ea voluerimus significare, ut justo loco ac tempore nos excuses, ne id nobis a ceteris vertatur vitio: ac ne quod a nobis negli-

gatur, quod facere quidquam possit, vel ad restituendam conservandamque causam communem, vel ad ceteros animandos, volumus ut tu ipse, cui meus voluntasque nostra notissima est, te Hagam Comitis quantocyus conferas, atque illic adjuncto tibi ordinario nostro Residente Rutgersio, legatis amicorum ac confœderatorum, quibus nostra propositio placet, isthic convenientibus, mentem nostram uberius explices, et ut Dominos suos ad Legatos huç mittendos incitent, author sis ac persuadeas. De animo vero nostro ac consilio sic statue, ceterisque assevera.

Primo, nos in proposito nostro, suscipiendaque directione istius belli pro restitutione rerum communium constanter perseverare, ac tertiam onerum partem sustinere velle. Hoc enim et si nobis, regnoque nostro grave sit, tamen ne minus excrescens potentia statui nostro plus satis inimica, in vicinia nostra ac ad mare Balthicum pedem figat, ducti et hac status nostri ratione, et amicorum commiseratione, periculis hisce nos subjicere non dubitamus; suscipere vero in nos id periculi, nisi secundum Deum fulciremur, viribus nostris id vero magnæ esset temeritatis.

Secundo, poteris et hoc asseverare, cuncta quæ obtulimus parata fore apud nos quocunque die, modo nobis tempestive quid ceteri velint, sentiantque innotescat: Noster miles (ut ipse nosti) quocunque die cogi potest, et magna sui parte sub signis est, præsertim mercenarius. Classis in Balthico mari parata, et octo nostræ naves in portu Gothoburgensi: tormentis bellicis, ceterisque ammonitionum generibus nihil cum opus erit, deerit, et nos ipsi parati futuri sumus ut rem adgrediamur, quamprimum inter nos, et ceteros confœderatos convenerit.

Tertio, quamque rei bene conficiundæ ratio non parum in celeritate et præveniendis hostibus sita est, tum ita maturandum erit ut firma fœderis subsecuturique belli fundamenta prius jacta sint, utque incommodis quæ subsequi possunt, prius cautè prudenterque prospiciatur. Nec putandum est moram exigui temporis adeo noxiam esse, quin compensetur consilii maturitate. Hæc non ideo scribimus, quod lenta probemus consilia, sed quod cuncta rectè digesta cupiamus ac tum demum fortiter constanterque rem adgrediamur. Nos semper parati sumus, nec erit in nobis culpa moræ. Si ceteris res cordi est, cogant pecuniam atque illam deponant ut haberi nervi rerum gerendarum possint, cum de fœdere ejusque executione convenerit. Hæc en unica et sola ratio est maturandi negotii; Nihil ex nostra parte deerit, vel deliberati animi, vel rerum, quas promisimus.

Cuncta nunc dependent a ceteris amicis quorum interest, hoc non negligi. Illos statuere optamus quod sit è re sua, et quid conferre vel velint, vel possint. Ac primo quidem, si ceteris negotium hoc curæ erit, optamus ut se uniant ac conjungant, quo nobis pro certo constet, priusquam negotium id adgrediamur, quos simus adjutores, quos amicos, quos hostes habituri; deinde ut de conditionibus fœderis à nobis propositis, tibique ac traditis, deliberent; sique illæ placuerint, ut Legatos suos ad nos mittant, qui de omnibus nobiscum statuendi et concludendi potestatem plenam habeant, adversum quos ita nos declaraturi sumus, ut cunctis patere possit, studium nostrum inserviendi saluti amicorum ac publicæ. Denique si agitur res serio, conferat quisque confœderatorum suam partem quo tam in ære parato trimestris stipendii et arma militaria, aut horum loco 4$^{ti}$ mensis stipendium, atque sumptus pro militis conscriptione requisitos, qui necessario sunt in antecessum dandi, omnemque pecuniam Amstelodami in Banco (ut vocant) deponant quantocyus sub nostro nomine, ut eam tollere cum opus fuerit, atque in militum conscriptionem sustentationemque conferre possimus, neve liberum cuique sit, sine nostro jussu illam vel totam vel ulla sui parte attingere. Quod attinet conditiones fœderis à nobis propositas, quas tu innuis mitigari debere, ne ceteri fœderati metuentes onerum pondus, se subtrahant, sane non diffitemur conditiones has graves ac præstitu difficiles esse. Verum si quis facile putat bello lacessere potentissimum Europæ Principem fulcitum viribus Hispanicis, stipatum tot Principum Germanicorum ac, ut uno verbo dicamus Ligæ Catholico Romanæ robore, tum connectere dissolutas scopas ac consolidare tot animos diversa sentientes; denique erepta tenoribus possessoribus suo quæque Domino reddere; Nos hanc illi gloriam ceteraque quæ illam comitari possunt commoda, non inviti concedemus. In conditionibus propositis, exiguam securitatis nostræ Regnique nostri rationem habuimus, atque id quidquid esse oneri prope modum totum in nos suscepimus. Minoribus autem viribus adgredi tantum negotium, temeritatis magis, quam consilii esse putamus ac forsan cadere posse in hominem privatum vel obnoxium alteri obsequio, vel alias rationes sui conservandi ignorantem. A nobis certè, quibus Regnum à deo potens atque amplum concessum est, quique nihil præter famam in pretio habemus procul abesse debebit. Certe quisquis res magnas adgressus fuerit, sine magnis viribus, magnisque sumptibus ductus forsan vana spe, ac

cunctis in casum datis, falsum se deceptumque tandem intelliget. Illud quoque non minus considerandum venit in conditionibus nostris, quomodo certi portus, ubi miles nostri exponatur, ac classis nostra pro anchoris stet, nobis pateant, tam in Balthici, quam Germanici maris litore. Id enim nisi obtineatur, facile est æstimare, locum nobis non futurum, ubi exercitum formare, ac necessaria, quæ subvehi debent, asservare possimus. Hæc atque alia tu diligenter inculcabis Legatis confœderatorum, qui adventuri sunt, ut de omnibus tempestive et prudenter constituatur quo hoc negotium tantum non tædio magis malorum quæ nos præmunt, aut metuimus, vanaque spe, quam maturo consilio, firmoque proposito susceptum videatur. At si Legati Confœderatorum, qui ad nos missi fuerint, nobis bonis rationibus demonstraverint, hostem eum quo nobis res futura erit, infirmiorem esse, ac minoribus viribus cogi ac dejici posse possessione injustè arrepta, aut militem sumptibus minoribus conscribi, vel stipendiis minoribus sustentari posse, quam nos putamus certè in hisce omnibus et ceteris, quæ levare tam nostra onera, quam reliquorum fœderatorum queunt, faciles ac promptos nos exhibebimus. Tuum nunc erit, cuncta hæc dextre explicare, quæque suo loco, Principesque, quibus ista Confœderatio placet, eorumque Legatos certos reddere. Nos si tempestivè aliquod ac serio de hoc tanto negotio constitutum fuerit, ab ipsis, atque demum per Legatos ipsorum ad nos delatum, et nobiscum conclusum, quod spes nos maxima teneat, per Dei Gratiam ceteris juvantibus faventibusque in pristinum suum statum rem communem restituendi. Hisce te Deo commendamus. Dabantur in arce nostra Stockholmiensi die 13 Martii A° 1625.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

Magnifico et Generoso sincerè nobis fideli apud Senerissimum Magnæ Britanniæ Regem Commissario nostro Jacobo Spensio de Wormston et Equiti Aurato.

(*Indorsed*) Copie de la Lettre du Roy de Suede a Mons. Spens, du 13 de Mars 1625.

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## ERRATUM.

In page 86, line 3, for "yourself" read "himself."

# RECEIPTS AND EXPENSES

IN THE

# BUILDING OF BODMIN CHURCH,

A.D. 1469 TO 1472.

---

EDITED BY THE

REV. JOHN JAMES WILKINSON, M.A.

RECTOR OF LANTEGLOS AND ADVENT.

---

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.LXXIV.

# PREFACE.

THE following account of the receipts and expenses in the rebuilding of the parish church of Bodmin was accidentally discovered in an old chest, in the parvise over the church-porch, early in the present century. It is neatly written in a book now severed into loose sheets, which, although preserved with great care, is becoming rapidly reduced to dust. There are discrepancies in the sums of the items, owing probably to the defective state of the manuscript. With the exception of the extension of the contractions, in italics, the whole is given as it was found, without any attempt at correction.

The rebuilding commenced in 1469 and was completed in 1472. There is scarcely a parish in Cornwall which does not bear testimony to the energy displayed in church restoration at that period. In many instances we find a south aisle rebuilt or added, in which, if the original church was cruciform, the south transept was absorbed. At the time when church restoration made such progress the nation was in a state of turmoil from the rival claims of Henry VI. and Edward IV. The isolated position of the county probably enabled the inhabitants to turn their attention to more peaceful pursuits, for history is silent as to any part taken in the strife by the county of Cornwall.

Of Bodmin Church the west end, tower, north chancel, aisle, and

chancel were not rebuilt. The west door* was a fine specimen of Norman architecture. The tower, surmounted by a spire which was destroyed by lightning in 1699, had probably been erected in the previous century.

There is a payment for "possyng," *i.e.* propping up, "the rof of the chanseler" while the arches which separate it from the aisles were being erected. As the patrons, the prior and convent of the adjoining monastery of St. Petrock, did not in any way contribute to the rebuilding of the rest of the church, they defrayed the expense connected with the repair of the chancel, if anything was done to it. The seating and pulpit were not commenced till 1491, when a contract was signed for their completion by Michaelmas, 1495, at a cost of 92*l.*, the parish providing the wainscot timber.

The accounts commence with the receipts and expenses during the years 1469 and 1470, until Michaelmas 1471, while Thomas Jerman was receiver, and are summed up as follows:

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Receipts . . . . | 196 | 7 | 4½ |
| Expenses . . . . | 194 | 3 | 6½ |

In the following year Thomas Lucomb, then mayor, was receiver:

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Receipts . . . . | 65 | 7 | 0 |
| Expenses . . . . | 74 | 14 | 3 |

The whole sum expended was 268*l.* 17*s.* 9½*d.*; in addition to which, windows, trees, and other materials and labour were contributed.

Irrespective of the information obtained directly from these Accounts as to the means used for obtaining the necessary funds for the re-edification of the church, and the cost of labour towards the end of the fifteenth century, they are of great interest from

* For a full account of the church see Sir John Maclean's History of Trigg Minor, in which there is a drawing of this doorway.

the light which they throw on the social condition of the town of Bodmin at that period, and there is no reason to believe that Bodmin formed an exception to the general state of society in other towns at the same date. They exhibit a remarkable unanimity in the good work. Everyone seems to have given according to his means, and up to his means. Many who gave money gave labour also, many who could not give money laboured as best they might, and others gave what they could. We have gifts of lambs, of a cow, and of a goose; and one woman in addition to her subscription sold her crokke for 20*d.*; and all found its way into the common treasury. No age or sex seems to have kept aloof. We find a "hold woman" contributing 3*s.* 2½*d.*; while the maidens in Fore Street and Bore Street gave subscriptions, in addition to the sums received from the Gilds of Virgins in the same streets. The Vicar gave his year's salary, and the "parish pepell," who lived out of the town, contributed 19*s.*

Much of the zeal shown may, we think, be attributed to the influence exercised by the Gilds. It is only recently we have become acquainted, and even now only partially so, with the degree in which religious life permeated society in the middle ages, particularly in the fifteenth century, through the minor confraternities. In Bodmin, at the period in question, almost the whole population seems to have been included in one or other of the Gilds, and it was through the means of their zeal and organization that the money required for rebuilding the Church was obtained without much difficulty. In the first place the Gilds contributed very freely from their own funds. We have seen that during the first three years of the work the total receipts from all sources amounted to 196*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.*; of which amount the Gilds contributed in money

86*l.* 11*s.* 5*d.* and 24*l.* 13*s.* part of a collection by the Trades Gilds of a penny per man of some, and a halfpenny of others, "the pore comenys," throughout the town. In addition to this they gave wax to the value of 4*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* The remainder of the sum was made up of 50*l.* 8*s.*, being a voluntary contribution of the inhabitants generally, a bequest of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, the proceeds of the sale of old materials, and from other miscellaneous sources. In the following year the Gilds were not less active and liberal.

Of these fraternities the Accounts disclose the names of upwards of 40. Five of these were Trades Gilds, or Gilds founded for the interests of certain crafts. These were St. Petroc (Skinners and Glovers), SS. Dunstan and Eloy (Smiths), St. Anian the Bishop (Cordenerys, Cordwainers), St. Martin the Bishop (Milwardys, Millers or Millwrights), and St. John the Baptist, of whom no trade is named, but probably the Gild consisted of Tailors and Drapers. All the others were established for social and religious objects, for the glory of God and the good of man.

Judging from the price of labour, the value of money was about eight times greater than it is now. A mason and stone-cutter received 6*d.* a day, a helyer or slater 5*d.*, a plasterer 5½*d.*, and a common labourer and quarryman 3*d.*

Annexed to the Accounts are the names of 460 inhabitants of the town, who voluntarily subscribed to the rebuilding of the church. Many of these names are extinct or merged into other families, but there are still some representatives of those who thus substantially showed their veneration for the house of God, who are at present about to tread in their steps by endeavouring to restore to its former beauty the holy place around which sleep their honoured remains.

The Editor begs to express his gratitude to the late Mr. Richard Bray, the Town Clerk of Bodmin, for having granted, often at inconvenience to himself, access to the documents of the Corporation, and to his son, Mr. George Bray, Sir John Maclean, and the Rev. William Iago, for their valuable assistance in deciphering their tattered remains.

In conclusion, he dedicates this attempt to elucidate the History of Bodmin to Commander James Liddell, R.N. J.P. and Alderman of the Borough of Bodmin, in remembrance of a friendship extending over nearly a quarter of a century.

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Hic liber dico constat ecclesie pertinentia ad Ecclesiam Parochialem Bodminie videlicet compotus Thome Jerman pro fabrica Ecclesie.

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Remembrans of all the Reseytis as for the byllynge of the Parish Church of Bodmyn, fro the feste . . . . . Domini 1469° vnto Mychelmas Anno Domini * 1470^mo^, & Anno Domini 1471°.

| | |
|---|---|
| Inprimis, of Thomas Carter for a holde cofer of the Church recevyd . . . . . | vj d. |
| Item of Joh. . . . . | |
| Item de Will. Androwe for olde tymber and moris † | xj d. |
| Item the same of . . . . . | xviij d. |
| Item of Isbell lynche for olde tymber . . . | iiij d. |
| Item of John Proute for a lytell sta . . . . . | viij d. |
| Item of John Cok for old tymber . . . . | iiij d. |
| Item of Thomas Dawne for a holde cofer . . | viij d. |
| Item of Will. Androwe for stonys of the Church . | ij s. vj d. |
| Item of mony fonde yn the church, that is to sey of Thomas Lucombe,‡ Robert Dyer, Bartholomew Trote, and Thomas Wylliam . . . . | v d. |

* Henry Gurlyn was vicar, but he died shortly after the commencement of the work. Shields bearing his arms, some of them unfinished, are on the roof-bosses in the nave.

† "Mores," a word still in common use in Cornwall for the roots of trees.

‡ Roof-bosses display shields of Lucombe arms. Barth. Trote's merchant's mark is carved on bench-ends.

| | |
|---|---|
| Item of Thomas Barbor, and feliship* for olde tymber | xl d. |
| Item for iij. copelles † of Thomas . . . . | |
| Item of John Burnarde for a copelle . . . | viij d. |
| Item of John Roby for a copelle . . . . | viij d. |
| Item of . . . . for a cage that the smale bell range yn | j d. |
| Item for iiij. copelles of Bartholomew Trote . . | ij s. viij d. |
| Item of Thomas Jerman for a holde copelle . . | viij d. |
| Item of John Philyp for a holde tre . . . | x d. |
| Item of Bartholomew Trote for stonys y solde at quary | vj s. viij d. |
| Item of John Rawe for old lathis of the church . | ij d. |
| Item of Robert Best for a holde copell . . . | viij d. |
| Item the dutis siny . . . . . for stonys sold . . | xij d. |
| Item y recevyd of Harre Sturgen yeft ‡ mony . . | iiij d. |
| Item of Thomas Hancok . . . . . | ij d. |
| Item ther was sold to Sir § William the Parish Preste for olde tymber, the vayle ‖ . . . . . | ij s. iiij d. |
| Item recevyd for a wyndowe y sold to the Parish of Hellond . . . . . | xxvj s. |
| Item y recevyd for a wyndowe ¶ of Seynt Kewa | xxvj s. viij d. |
| Summa iiij li. ij s. j d. | |

| | |
|---|---|
| Also y haue recevyd of the churche wexe perteynynge to the Ildis ** y . . . . . vj li at x c . . . . . | iij d. |
| Item y recevyd of men at quary dyuers tymys . . | ij s. |

* "feleship," company.

† Couple-close, a pair of spars for a roof.

‡ gift-money.

§ "Sir," a common title of the clergy, as Shakespeare's Sir Hugh Evans. William Bray was instituted on the death of Gurlyng, March 28, 1470. See Maclean's Trigg Minor, p. 147.

‖ value.

¶ Many remains of a window containing incidents in our Lord's life are still in the east window in the north aisle at St. Kew, and said by tradition to have belonged originally to Bodmin.

** A contribution from the Gilds (*ildis*) of *wax* for the Church.

Item y recevyd of William Glynn fro a hold woman yn the Reynstret . . . . . iij s. ij d ob.
Item for the barris* y sold yn Lestithiell stret recevyd xij d.
Item for the barris y . . . . . .
Item recevyd of Stephen Greby of mony left fetchynge the organys fro Exeter . . . . . ij s.
Item recevyd for a cowe that Raf Miller yeff† to the work . . . . . vij s. vj d.
Item y recevyd for a pot y sold that John Nordon yef iij s. vij d.
Item y recevyd‡ of dyuers men of the towne that fayled here jornayes at quary, ffrust . . . John Bowyer, iiij d. Robert Cok, iiij d. William Reue, iiij d. Thomas Archer, iiij d. John Cok, iiij d. Andrew Opy, iiij d. John Watte, iiij d. William Dreyn, ij d. Ric. . . . . at more, William Pole, iiij d. John Trefarthian, iiij d. Thomas Crispyn, iiij d. Raf Credy, iiij d. Jeruys Teyler, iiij d. John Salisbery, iiij d. John Nytherton, iiij d.

Summa iiij li. xviij s.

Also y recevyd of Sir John Yeme for parte of a bequest of Isbell ffuller . . . . . xxvj s. viij d.
Item of William Mason of parte of arrerages§ of accompt of the wardeship by the honds of Thomas Lucombe . . . . . x s.
Item recevyd of Margaret, suster of Thomas Bere . x s.
Item of John Wylle of Granpound . . . . . v s.

* Probably the old iron from the windows. † gave.

‡ These receipts were probably fines.

§ arrears. "He'll grant the tribute, send the *arrearages*." Cymbeline, Act. ii. Scene 4.

| | |
|---|---|
| Item of Thomas Lucky . . . . . | xl d. |
| Item of Shirston . . . . . | iij s. iv d. |
| Item of Thomas Trote . . . . . | x s. |
| . . . . . Thomas Bere for a jorney to fetch lyme . | |
| Item of a man of Exeter . . . . . | iiij d. |
| Item of a prest . . . . . | j d. |
| Item of a . . . person . . . . . | xx d. |
| Item of Thomas Watte for a plank y sold . . | vij d. |
| Item of Hancok Harry . . . . . | x s. |
| Item of the . . . . of John Netherton . . . | ij s. |
| Item of Thomas Colom . . . . . | ij d. |
| Item of John Togyon for a hold chandeler sold . | ij s. |
| Item of Edmond Beket for old lathis sold . . | xx d. |
| Item of Thomas Lucombe for old tymber . . | xij d. |
| Item off . . . . . Jerman for old tymber . . . | iij d. |
| Item to Bartholomew Trote for crestis,* iij. pipis, bordis, and old twistis † . . . . . | v d. |
| Item the seide Bartholomew for old gare ‡ . . | vj d. |
| Summa iiij li. xij s. viij d. | |

Memorandum that Thomas for seide hath receryd of the stewardis of the Ridyng § Ildis as for holdyng of . . . . by . . . . of ston made and ratid.

* "Crest" and "crecis," tiles to cover the ridge of the roof.

† Hinges are still sometimes called *twists*.

‡ gear, stuff.

§ Ildis, Guild or Gild. The festival of the "Ryding Gilds," held on the Sunday and Monday after the feast of St. Thomas the Martyr (Becket), July 7th, is thought by some to have been established in commemoration of the recovery of St. Petrock's bones in 1177; by others to have been a continuation of the old Floralia.

Having elected a "steward," the trading gilds, masters and apprentices, bearing the emblems of their trades, with the town's folk generally, attended church on the Sunday, and on their return distributed the church-ale from house to house, receiving from the inhabitants contributions according to their means. On the following day the gilds went in procession on horseback (whence the name) to the Priory, where they received "garlands gay." After this the sports began, and the revelry became

ffrust for seynt Loy is Ilde of John Hancok . xiij s. iiij d.
Item of seynt Petrok is Ilde of Richard Colom . xiij s. iiij d.
Item of seynt John is Ilde of John Prowte . xxvj s. viij d.
Item of seynt Anyan is Ilde of Thomas Hay . xxvj s. viij d.
Item of seynt Martyn is Ilde of Thomas ffykk . xiij s. iiij d.
Summa iiij li. xiij s. iiij d.

Memorandum of the receipt off the Ildis longyng to the Church and Parish that the seide Thomas recevyd.
ffrust off Erasmos Episcopi is Ilde . . . x li. ij s. xj d.
Item de gilda Beate Marie virginis in capella Sancti Georgii Martyris . . . . . xx s.
Item de gilda Beate Marie virginis in cancello Parochiali . . . . . xxiiij s. iiij d.
De gilda sancti Thome Martyris in Cimiterio . . iij li. x s.
... gilda ex altare . . . . . xxxvij s. vj d.
... gilda sancti Jacobi Apostoli ibidem . . . xx s. x d.
... gilda beate Marie Magdalene ibidem . . . xliiij s.
..... Sancti Georgii Martyris, viz. in Capella iij li. xviij s.
Summa xxiiij li. xvij s. vij d.

De gilda Corporis Xi in ecclesia parochiali vj li. iij s. iiij d.
De gilda sancti Johannis Baptiste . . ix li. xiij s. iiij d.
De gilda de virginibus de fforstret Ais . . . } v s. xj d.
De gilda de virginibus de Borestret . . . }
De gilda sancti Petroci videlicet le Skynners & Gloucerys . . . . . vj li.
De gilda sancti Dunstani et Eloy videlicet Smethis . vj li.

"fast and furious." In 1583 we find an order by the Mayor and masters of the shoemakers "that at the ryding every master and journeyman shall give their attendance to the steward, and likewise bring him to the church upon pain of 12 d. for every master, and 6 d. for every journeyman, for every such default, to the discretion of the masters of the occupation."

*De* gilda *sancti* Aniani Ep*iscopi* viz. Cordenerys* . . . . . iij li. vj s. viij d.
*De* gilda *sancti* Martini Ep*iscopi* viz. Milwardys† liij s. iiij d.
Summa xxxiiij li. ij s. vij d.

*De* noua gilda apud le Bery de Ric*ardo* Dakis et Joachym Hoper . . . . . xj s.
*De* gilda *sancte* Crucis apud le Bery, vi*delicet* de Penses . . . . . xvij s. j d.
*De* gilda *sancte* Anne apud seynt Nich*olaum* de Pet*ro* Mason . . . . . x s.
*De* arrerag*iis* de gilda beate Margarete ap*ud* le Bore de Thoma Bere . . . . . vj s. viij d.
*De* gilda beate Marie de Walsyngam de Jenyn Sadeler et soc*io* suo . . . . . x s.
*De* gilda *sancti* Erasmi vid*elicet* de arrerag*iis* de Johanne Cok, tann*er* . . . . . xiij s. iiij d.
*De* gilda *sancte* Anne apud le Bore de Joh*anne* Broker . . . . . xx s.
*De* Joh*anne* Hay de arrerag*iis* de gilda apud le Bore iiij s.
*De* Joh*anne* Renawdyn p*ro* gilda *sancti* Dauyd apud le Bore . . . . . xj s. vij d.
Idem Joh*annes* de gilda *sancte* Margarete apud le Bore . . . . . iij s. xj d.
*De* gilda omnium *sanctorum* apud le Bore de Henr*ico* Moyle . . . . . vij s.
*De* gilda *sancti* Dauyd in forestret de Adam Hicke . v s.
*De* gilda omnium *sanctorum* in Polestret de Thoma Colom . . . . . ix s.
*De* gilda *sancti* Cristofory apud le Bery cu*m* Joh*anne* Philip xj s. sol*vit* v s. et resp*ondet* vj s. . .

* Bodmin has always been famous for its cordwainers or shoemakers.
† Millers are now sometimes called "Millards."

*De* gilda *sancti* Leonardi Ep*iscopi* cum Ric*ardo* Dakys & Rogenald Gwynnowe . . . . . xxiij s. iiij d.

*De* gilda *sancti* Nicho*lai* Ep*iscopi* at seint Nicho*las* cum Ric*ardo* Harry . . . . . iiij s. xj d.

*De* Gylda *sancte* Trinitat*is* apud S*anctum* Leonardum cum ux*ore* Joh*annis* Bryant . . . . . v s.

*De* gilda *sancti* Mathei Ap*ostoli* apud le Bore cum Joh*anne* Perryn, viij s. m*anet* p*er* m*anus*, viij s.

*De* gilda *sancti* Martini E*piscopi* cum Joh*anne* Bocher . . . . . xxiij s.

Pleg*ium* Neell*ii* Lankelly & Joh*ann*is Bryant & solutum . . . . . x s.

*De* arreragio gilde omnium sanctorum apud le Bore cum Joh*anne* Trelodrowe . . . . . iij s.

*De* gilda *sancti* Cristofori apud le Bery A*nno* E[*dwardi*]. 9° rec*eptum* . . . . . xv s.

Summa

M*emorandum* y recevyd for wex gaderyng of Church this hier A*nno*.

ffrust *De* Will*iel*mo Androwe p*ro* Cera gilde *sancti* Dauyd apud le forstret . . . . . ij s. vj d.

*De* sera *sancti* Lug Ewangelist de Tho*ma* Colom & Joh*anne* Lyde . . . . . x s.

*De* sera *sancti* Mich*aelis* de Joh*anne* Cok et Joh*anne* Hancok . . . . . xv d.

*De* sera *sancte* Trinitat*is* de Ric*ardo* Harry

*De* sera *sancti* Leodegarii de Gy Sadelere . . iij s.

*De* sera *sancte* Clare de Henr*ico* Sturtgyn . . iij s. iiij d.

*De* sera *sancti* Gregorii Pape de Petro Sadelere . xviij d.

*De* sera *sancti* Thome de Will*iel*mo Carpenter & Johanne Togyn . . . . . xvj d.

*De* sera Beate Marie Virginis in le Porch in ecclesia Parochiali . . . . . nil

*De* cera *sancte* Trinitat*is* de Andrea Opy et Joh*anne* Trelodrowe . . . . . v s.
*De* cera *sancte* Kat*e*rine V*irgin*is de Joh*a*nne Donworthy . . . . . iij s.
*De* cera *sancte* Kat*e*rine de Thoma Wylliam . . iij s.
S*um*ma

*Memorandum* De rec*eptis* post *festum* *sancti* Mich*aelis* A*n*no Do*mi*ni 1470°.
Rec*epi* de no*ua* condonac*ione* circ*a* vill*am*.
*De* cera *sancte* Kat*e*rine . . . . . iiij s. xj ob.
*De* gild*a* *sancti* Aniani E*pisco*pi . . . xxvj s. viij d.
*De* li*m*ine *sancti* Steph*ani* . . . . . iiij s. v d.
*De* gild*a* *sancti* Martini E*pisco*pi . . . . x s.
*De* fr*ater*nitat*e* Marie Magdal*ene* . . . vj s .viij d. ob.
*De* congregat*ione* *sancte* Clar*e* . . . . .
*De* fr*ater*nitate *sancti* Jacobi . . . . . vj s. viij d.
*De* fr*ater*nitat*e* *sancte* Cruc*is* . . . . . vj s. viij d.
*De* fr*ater*nitat*e* B*e*at*e* Marie in Cancell*o* . . . vj s. viij d.
*De* fr*ater*nitat*e* B*e*at*e* Marie in Capell*a* *sancti* Georgii vj s. viij d.
S*um*ma v li. xiij s. iiij d.

Also y yeff yn the town voluntarie as the paper makith mensyon . . . . . l li. viij s. j d.
S*um*ma l li. viij s. j d.

. . . . . recevyd for the bequest of Raf Dyer vj li. xiij s. iiij d.
S*um*ma vj li. xiij s. iiij d.

*Memorandum* that y haue recevyd off the Ildis of the town wich is graunted thorght the town . . . . of the pore comenys ob*olus* a man.
ffrust of seynt Loye is Ihde off Thomas Colom iij li. xvj s. v d.
Cu*m* factur*a* ij. wyndowys . . . . . xlij s. . . . .

| | |
|---|---|
| It*em* of seynt Petrok is Ilde of Ric*hard* Dyuer . . | xlj s. |
| It*em* of seynt Joh*n* is Ilde of Joh*n* Trevarthian et soc*iis* . . . . . | vj li. xj s. ix d. |
| It*em* of seynt Anyan is Ilde of Thomas Wylliam | viij li. xiij s. iiij d. |
| Et p*er* man*us* Joh*ann*is Cok . . . . . | |
| It*em* of seynt Martyn is Ilde of Joh*n* Rawe & . . . for . . . . . | l s. |
| It*em* of the that be yn no Ilde of the Maier . . | vij s. ij d. |
| S*um*ma | |

| | |
|---|---|
| Also y haue recevyd dyu*ers* other reseit*is* as hit aperith | |
| ffrust of Thomas Lucomb*e* for tymb*er* y sold haishis* yn the licheris*e* sold . . . . . | v s. |
| It*em* of Joachym Hop*er* for tymb*er* ther . . . | v s. |
| It*em* of John Ber*e* for xxx. there sold . . . | vj s. viij d. |
| It*em* to the newe smyth for tymb*er* sold . . . | xiiij d. |
| S*um*ma | |

| | |
|---|---|
| It*em* y recevyd of Will*iam* Cok is wif . . . | v s. |
| It*em* of Joh*n* White for Henr*y* Olyu*er* yef to the work | viij s. |
| It*em* Henr*y* Sturgen yef . . . . . | ij d. |
| It*em* the sone of Thomas Bodynyell . . . | xl d. |
| It*em* of Joh*n* Symon of Bod . . . . . | v s. |
| It*em* de Rob*er*to Sperk Capell*ano* . . . . | iiij d. |
| *De* Davyd Witfen . . . . . | j d. |
| It*em* of Steph*en* Greby of the gaderyng of the Trinite † li3th . . . . . | iij s. iiij d. ob. |
| It*em* of Au*er*y Skeis and Tho*mas* Jerman . . | ij d. |
| It*em* of Ciceli Serle for a crokke sold . . . | xx d |

* *Ash*-trees in the *Church-yard*.

† Money collected for Trinity lights or candles.

| | |
|---|---|
| *Item* of John Hardy, Carpenter . . . . . | xx d. |
| *Item* for a goys * y yeff . . . . . | ij d. |
| *Item* y *recevyd* a pipe of lyme y yef with Thomas lymby . . . . . | |
| *Item* y *recevyd* for a lome † y yef . . . . | v d. |
| *Item* a nother lome . . . . . | iiij d. |
| *Item* per limine *sancti* Mich*aelis* A*nno* *regni* *regis* E*dwardi* iiij$^{ti}$ xj$^{o}$ . . . . . | |

*Summa*

| | |
|---|---|
| *Item* of the maidenys yn fforstret . . . . . | vj s. |
| *Item* of seynt Thomas Ilde yn Church hay . . | x s. |
| *Item* of the maidenys of the borestret . . . | xvij d. |
| *Item* of John Rogger of Lonke y rec*evyd* yn parti of payment . . . . . | vj s. viij d. |
| *Item* of John Davy, Draper, for a jorney . . . | iiij d. |
| *Item* of a seruant of Thomas Jerman . . . | iij d. |
| *Item* of the parish pepell . . . . . | xix s. |
| *Item* xviij s. p*er* vic*arium*. *Item* de John Glyn . | v s. |

*Summa* iij li. xx d.

| | |
|---|---|
| Also y rec*evyd* of Corp*us* *Christi* is hilde of Will*iam* Bodynyell and Will*iam* Glyn . . . . . | iiij li. |
| for the arrerag*es* of A*nno* E*dwardi* iiij$^{ti}$ x$^{mo}$. | |
| *Item* of the Rydyng Ilde, viz. of Seynt loy is Ilde A*nno* E*dwardi* iiij$^{ti}$ xj$^{mo}$ . . . . . | x s. |
| *Item* of seynt Petrok is Ilde . . . . . | xiij s. iiij d. |
| *Item* of seynt John is Ilde . . . . . | xxvj s. viij d. |
| *Item* of seynt Anyan is Ilde . . . . . | x s. |
| *Item* of seynt Martyn is Ilde, iij s. iiij d. A*nno* E*dwardi* iiij$^{ti}$ xj$^{o}$ . . . . . | |

* goose. † lamb.

Item of the wardenys of the Parish Church, of Dauyd Witfen and Martyn Hogge, with Bere is part xxxix s. ix d.
Summa ix li. iij s. j d.

Item of the player* yn the Church Hay William Mason and his fellowis . . . . . v s.
Item of John Skewis for a jornay . . . . iij d.
Item de William Perish for a rayelle . . . viij d.

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This is the expens and costes don a pon the church of Bodmyn yn Byllynge of the . . . . . hit a perith after.

ffrust for crecis . . . . . v d.
Item to William Mayowe for stonys to the grase tabelle† . . . . . ix d.
Item for . . . . . same stonys . . . . xx d.
Item to Thomas Bodinyell for stonys for the same Work . . . . . ij s. ij d.
. . . . . ij. Berwys . . . . . iij d.
Item for a casier‡ . . . . . ij d.

* Fairs, markets, games, &c., were held in church-yards in early times, generally on the north side of the church. In the statutes, 13 Edw. I., stat. ii. c. 6, "the King commandeth and forbiddeth that from henceforth neither fairs nor markets be kept in Church yards for the honour of the Church." Plays and games seem to have lasted much later, for we find in the Visitation Articles of the Archdeacon of Suffolk in 1638, "Have any playes, feasts, banquets, suppers, church-ales, drinkings, temporal courts or leets, lay juries, musters, exercise of dauncing, stoole ball, foot ball, or the like, or any other profane usage been suffered to be kept in your Church, Chappel, or *Church yard?*"

† The *grase tabelle* is perhaps the plinth or course of stones immediately above the surface of the ground, or may be the string-course below the battlements.

‡ A sieve.

| | |
|---|---|
| It*em* for p*ar*chemente*s* for to make rollys . . . | j d. |
| It*em* for ly . . . . . | |
| It*em* for grase tabell*e* stonys for seint John is Ilde . | iij s. vj d. |
| It*em* for fetchyng home f . . . . . Organys . . | xv s. x d. |
| It*em* to Will*iam* Perisch, Mason, for ij. jornayes vnder the grase tabelle . . . . . Will*iam* Dole for ix. jornayes at quarell . . . . . | iij s. |
| It*em* to Thomas Gylle and his man a jornay . . . . . the grase tabell*e* . . . . . | ix d. |
| It*em* ij. Quart*er*is di*mid.* of lyme . . . | iij s. j d. ob. |
| It*em* for viij. hurdell*es* to case . . . . . | xiiij d. |
| It*em* to Thomas Opy, mason, j. jornay . . . | v d. |
| It*em* for stonys fo the chanseler dor and dr . . . . . | ix d. |
| It*em* for ij. jornays to Ric. Richowe fo scapelyng* stonys for the grase tabell*e* . . . . . | xij d. |
| . . . . . Will*iam* Perish ij. jornayes & di*mid* . . | xij d. ob. |
| It*em* to Thomas Gylle for ij. jornayes under the grase tabell*e* . . . . . | x d. |
| It*em* his man ij. journayes . . . . . | viij d. |
| It*em* to Ude Hancok for v. jornayes to the same . | xxij d. |
| It*em* to John Hancok worchyng under the grase tabell x. jornayes . . . . . | iiij s. |
| It*em* to Ric*hard* fforth*e* for xiiij. jornayes and di*mid.* apon the jambys of the chanseler dor and vpon the grase tabell yn seynt John is Ilde . . | vij s. iij d. |
| It*em* to Will*iam* Mason for iv. jornayes, & di*mid.* to the same work . . . . . | |
| It*em* to his man a jornay to the same . . . | |
| S*um*m*a* | |
| It*em* for scapelyng of stonys to Pentewyn to John Hancok and his felowis . . . . . | xj s. |

* *Scapelyng*, rough-hewing.

Item for cariage of the same stonys from Pentewyn to seynt Wynnowe . . . . . xj s.

Summa xxij s.

Item to Richard Richowe for the taxk work,* that is to seye, Receyvd for the pelerys yn iij. paymentes .

Summa xxij li.

Item the seide Richard hath Receyvd for the peloris Betwene the chanseler and seynt John is Ilde yn complete payment . . . . . vj li.

Summa vj li.

Item delyuered to Richard Richowe and his felowys for the taxke worke of the seide Wallys off the South side, and on the Northe side . . . xij li

Item . . . . . xx s.

Item die dominica ante festum Natalem Domini . x s.

Item ij° die Februarii . . . . . x s.

Item . . . . . iij li. viij s.

Summa xvij li. viij s.

Item payed to the seide Richard Richowe for scapelyng stonys at more for the wyndowys . . viij s.

Item to the seide Richard for the chanseler dore and the gabell windowe yn Seynt John is Ilde for scapelyng . . . . . xviij s. vj d.

Item to John Hancok for the same work . . . iij s. ix d.

Item to Richard Richowe and to his felowys for drawyng ston at mor and scapelyng for the peloris betwene seynt John is Ilde and the chanseler xxxv s. v d.

Summa iij li. v s. viij d.

* Contract for the pillars.

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|---|---|
| Item to Richard Richowe and his felowys, for dyuers jornayes don: | |
| ffrust to Richard Richowe ij. jornayes and dimid. apon the jambys of the north dor . . . | xv d. |
| Item to Robert Wetter and Petrok Gwelys ffor xlix. jornayes for the wyndowe a bowe the vyse | xxiiij s. vj d. |
| Item to Petrok Gwelys and his feleship for drawyng and scapelyng stonys at Pentewyn . . . | xxxv s. |
| Item for lond leve * of the stonys . . . . | v s. vj d. |
| Item for cariage of the stonys fro Trewardreith . | ij s. |
| Item to the Weneris † . . . . . | ij d. |
| Item to Ric. Richowe for xiiij. jornayes apon the gabell wyndowe . . . . . | vij s. |
| Item to Robert Wettor viij. jornayes to the same . | iiij s. |
| Item to Petrok Gwelys for xviij. jornayes and dimid. apon the same . . . . . | ix s. iij d. |
| Item to William Hayne for xiiij. jornayes and dimid. | vij s. iij d. |
| Item to William Bettowe for xviij. jornais & dimid. to the same . . . . . | ix s. iij d. |
| Item to Morly for xiiij. jornais for the same . . | vij s. |
| Item to Thomas Hancok for ij. jornais vnder the grase tabell . . . . . | x d. |
| Item to John Hancok for xj. jornais and dimid. apon the wyndowys . . . . . | v s. vj d. |
| Item for candeles to the masenys a fore Cristmas . | x d. |
| Item for londe leve at Pentewyn . . . . | viij d. |
| Item to Thomas Hayne for xix. jornais and dimid. apon the north side . . . . . | ix s. x d. |
| Item to Petrok Gwelys for xiiij. jornais and dimid. . | vij s. iiij d. |
| Item to William Bettowe for xix. jornais and dimid. for the sam. . . . . | ix s. viij d. |
| Item to John Hancok for xiiij. jornais to the same . | vij s. ij d. |
| Item to Thomas Hayne for xiiij. jornais to the same . | vij s. |

* Permission to quarry stones. † Waggoners.

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| Item for candelles for the same worke after cristmas . | ix d. |
| Item y payed for scapelyng of the chapitaries* betwene the chancery and seynt John is Ilde . . | ix s. |
| *Summa* viij li. ix s. viij d. | |
| Tot. fol. lvij li. x s. ij d. | |
| Item for cariage of the same stonys to seynt Blasy . | xx d. |
| Item byeng the same . . . . . | |
| Item to William Hayne iij. jornayes a bowte jambys of the north wyndowe . . . . . | xviij d. |
| Item to Betty for iiij. jornays apon the same . . | ij s. |
| Item to John Hancok for ij. jornays apon the same . | xij d. |
| Item to John Hancok for shittyng † of the newe work and the olde . . . . . | v s. vj d. |
| Item to Richard Richowe and his felowys apon the wyndowys yn the north side a weke after . . | viij s. |
| Item to Robert Wettor and Petrok Gvelys and the feliship for xliij. jornays and dimid. apon the north wyndowys and the half arch sittyng yn the north side . . . . . | xxj s. ix d. |
| Item to John Hancok for xiij. jornays apon the same and ouer the stypell ‡ dore . . . . | vj s. vj d. |
| Item to Thomas Hancok for vij. jornayes apon the same and dimid. jornay . . . . . | iij s. ix d. |
| Item to Vde Hancok for v. jornayes apon the same . | xx d. |
| Item to John Hancok for x. jornays and dimid. apon goter stonys and bergis § of the punyon ‖ . . | v s. iij d. |
| Item to Thomas Hancok v. jornayes and dimid. apon goter stonys and bergis . . . . . | ij s. iij ob. |

* Chapitaries, capitals of the columns.

† "shet" = "shut" = "closed" (Halliwell); "schetyng," *Prompt. Parv.* "closing," a closing up.

‡ This steeple was destroyed by lightning in 1699.

§ *Berge* or Verge,—the projecting slate or tile overhanging the gable of a building.

‖ *Punyon*, a gable.

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| It*em* to Whitford Mason in mense Julii A*nn*o E[*d-wardi*] iiij$^{ti}$ x$^{o}$ at more . . . . . | x s. vj d. |
| It*em* to Joh*n* Hancok at more xviij. jornayes apon the garotts pilors and wyndowys . . . | ix s. |
| It*em* to Ade a *ser*uant for the masenys xv. jornays at quari . . . . . | v s. |
| It*em* to Rob*er*t Wettor, Will*iam* Hayn, & Witford at quary lij. jornays . . . . . | xxvij s. |
| It*em* to same feliship Rob*er*t and his felowys at Church a pon the garettis and north wyndowys and parte ther of quary $\overset{xx}{\text{iiij}}$. j. jornay . . . . . | xl s. ix d. |
| It*em* to Thomas Archer for mendyng a wall plate and mendyng the drey . . . . . | |

*Summa*

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| Also y paied for lyme . . . . . | xiiij d. |
| It*em* to Rob*er*t Ber*e* iij. jornayes at quary . . | ix d. |
| It*em* for hurdel * . . . . . | vj d. |
| It*em* for lyme y fet † Will. Matthy . . . . | iiij s. j d. |
| It*em* to Thomas Archer for mendyng the dreyes . | ij d. |
| It*em* to Rob*er*t Bere a jornay at q*ua*ry . . . | iij d. |
| It*em* to Andr*ew* Glyn and John Glyn for cariag*e* of the rest*er*is fro Lestithiell yn Wenys . . | xvij s. |
| It*em* to Cowlyng & Shypper for cariage of tymber fro Rep*er*na Newton and Glyn . . . | v s. |
| It*em* to the seide p*er*sonys for iiij. M*il*. stonys . . | xj s. iiij d. |
| It*em* to Rob*er*t Bere for . . . . . | |
| It*em* for makyng the crane and the boket . . | vij s. ix d. |
| It*em* di*mid*. q*uar*t*er* lyme . . . . . | 6 d. ob. |
| It*em* yn expens yn Wyn*e* to Tregarthyn for leve for to have stonys fro the q*ua*ry . . . | j d. ob. |
| It*em* for naylys for to amende the dreyes . . | xij d. |

* "hurdel" = "harle," hair or wool (Halliwell). † *Fet*, fetched.

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| Item for hausyng * the tymber hous and keuery * him yn the Church hay . . . . . | xij d. |
| Item for v. bordis for the Church dore . . . | iiij s. ij d. |
| Item to Lobbe for caryage of a tre fro Glynn . . | xij d. |
| Item for a hours to bere the masenys gere to . . . . . | iij d. |
| Item for a forest bylle † y yef to Tregarthyn for licens to have stonys for . . . . . | xiiij d. |
| Item fillyng of treis at Glyn . . . . . | vj d. |
| Item for lyme . . . . . | xiiij d. |
| Item for a pipa to mende the dreyes . . . | ix d. |
| Item to Henry Carpenter for mendyng the dreyes . | vij d. |
| Item to John Nicolyne for makyng synternys ‡ of a wyndowe . . . . . | vj d. |
| Item to Robert Bere for sparres and to Baby for the hous . . . . . | iiij d. |
| Item to Alic. Pole for strawe for thecth the walls . | iiij d. |
| Item lyme y fet Seynt Wynnowe . . . . | xj s. |
| Item for a quarter strawe to the mayer . . . | vj d. |
| Item for a quarter strawe of John Togyon . . | vj d. |
| *Summa* | |
| Item to John Hervy for scafelyng tymber . . | ij s. |
| Item for iiij. barelles § lyme, iij s. iiij d. fro Padestow | |
| Item for 1 quarter lyme & dimid. . . . . | xxj d. |
| Item for a pole of Bras for the crane . . . | x d. |
| Item to Thomas Hay for a rope to the crane . . | xl d. |
| Item for strawe to William Mason . . . . | |
| Item to Leye the thoch the hous . . . . | iiij d. |
| Item for squaryng the treis that Joh. Arundell, knyght, and Joh. Hygow yef . . . . | xx d. |
| Item for stonys . . . . . | vij d. |

* Raising and covering. † forest bill, same as lond leve, above.

‡ *Syntern* or centre, a frame of wood to support an arch in building.

§ The cost of lime averaged 3*d*. per bushel, 1*s*. per barrel, 1*s*. 4*d*. per quarter from 4*s*. to 4*s*. 5*d*. per *pipe*, and 12*s*. per *last*.

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| Item for cariag of lyme fro Pendevy . . . | x d. |
| Item to laurence Renaudyn for cariag ij. pipis of lyme fro Pendevy . . . . . | xvj d. |
| Item y paiede for a last of lyme at Padestowe . . | xij s. |
| Item for iiij. Mill. latthis at Padestowe . . . | xxxvj s. |
| Item y paiede to Raf. Hopkyn for iij. Mill. . . | xxv s. |
| Item for freit of the same latthis . . . . | viij s. |
| Item for beryng and caria the same latthis . . | ix d. |
| Item to John Lyde for worchyng apon the synteris . | vj s. iij ob. |
| Item for lyme . . . . . | iiij s. ij d. |
| Item for a rope . . . . . | ij d. |
| Item for possyng * the chanceler . . . . | ij s. |
| Item to John Wettor, Carpenter, for possyng the rof of the chancelor and mendyng the crane and other labor . . . . . | viij s. ix d. |
| Item iiij. pair tresis . . . . . | v d. |
| Item for lyme . . . . . | v s. v d. |
| Item for iij. pipis lyme at Padestow . . | xiij s. iiij d. |
| Item to John Bare to bere a letter yn to Devonshire to the Carpenteris . . . . . | vj d. |
| Item to William Southrey for tynnyng nayls for the chanceler dore . . . . . | ix d. |
| Item to Weneshot † borde for the same dore and other borde to ynne parte . . . . . | iij s. vij d. |
| Item for twiste and crokis for the same dore xxij lb. . | xxij d. |
| Item for nailis with v strok hedes . . . . | ij s. |
| Item for workmanship of the dore . . . . | |
| Item for other nayle . . . . . | |
| Item for cariage of lyme fro Padestow . . . | xij d. |
| Summa xvij li. xvij s. ix d. | |
| Item for ij. quarteris and dimid. of lyme . . . | ij s. x d. |
| Item j. mill stonys . . . . . | ij s. viij d. |

* Propping the roof of the chancel, which was not then restored. † wainscot.

Item for iij. cariage of lodis of tymber fro the Park wode . . . . . ij s. vj d.
Item for drynk for Wenerys . . . . . ij d.
Item to John Benyt of Padistowe for iiij. pipis lyme xvij s. viij d.
Item for cariage of scafelyng tymber to Laurence Renaudyn . . . . . xij d.
Item yn lyme fet at Kylle yn Maii and Witsonday weke . . . . . xviij s. iiij d.
Item for CC yren for a wyndowe yn the north side . vij s.
Item to John Jogyn for yren work and sertayn for a wyndowe yn seynt John is Ilde, and a barre for the quary . . . . . xix s.
Item for small barre for a wyndowe . . . . x d.
Item the gabele wyndowe the yren work weyth CCCCLiiij li. of the wich *Sir* John Kyngdon yef CCCxxxviij lb. and so ther was borth Cxvj lb. and that Cxvj lb. came with the workmanschip xxvj s. viij ob.
Item for nailis to the dreys and scafelyng tymber . v d.
Item to Thomas Colom for the yren work and yren for the ij. wyndowys yn the south side benethe seynt John is Ilde . . . . . xlj s.
Item to Thomas Archer vj. jornays apon synteris . ij s.

*Summa*

Also y paiede to John Lyde and to Mathew Carpenter for seynt John is Ilde tymber . . . . .

*Summa* xx li. xiij s. iiij d.

Also y paiede to Sam. Carpenter for the taxkwork yn the north syde . . . . . ix li. xviij

*Summa* ix li. xviij s.

Also y paiede to John Hopkyn for C and dimid. & xx lb. lede for the goteris . . vj li. xiij s. iiij d.
Item for cariage of the same lede . . . . ij s. ix d.

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|---|---|
| Item for DCCCxij lb. of lede fro the mynys . . | l s. xj d. |
| Item for DC lede fro seynt Iva Parish . . | xxxix s. xj d. |
| Item for D lede for the north partis . . | xxxiij s. iiij d. |
| Item for carie the same . . . . . | ij s. vj d. |
| Item for iij. quateris lede to the plumer . . . | v s. |
| Item yn expens fecthyng lede . . . . . | iij ob. |
| Item for castynge and settynge lede xlj C. . . . | xlj s. |
| Item for sauder lvij. . . . . | xiiij s. iij d. |

Summa xvj li. iij s. iij d. ob.

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| Also y paiede to Thomas Hawyt for viij. jornayes hewying stonys . . . . . | iij s. iiij d. |
| Item y paiede for vj. Mill. helyng stones . . . | xvj s. |
| Item for vj. lodes of cariage fro the more pelor stonys | xij s. |
| Item to laurence Renawdyn and John Hervy ffor cariage fro Pentewyn ix. semys . . . | ij s. x d. |
| Item yn drynk to theym . . . . . | j d. |
| Item to Thomas Archer to mende the dreys . . | ix d. |
| Item y paied for iij. pipis lyme . . . . . | xij s. |

Summa xlvij s.

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| Also to William Carpenter of Bedyforth for parte of the taxk . . . . . | iij li. |
| Item for Angel . . . . . | vj s. viij d. |
| Item for bordis . . . . . | ix s. |
| Item at rader day* . . . . . | xl s. |

Summa v li. xv s. viij d.

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| Also y paiede to Robert Wettor and to his feliship at more for the iij. pelerouris & dimid. the Church dore, & porch dore, and wyndowys, and the makynge of seynt John is auter l. jornays . . | xxv s. |
| Item to Hayn, mason, xxv. jornays . . . . | xij. vj d. |
| Item to Whitford xlij. dayes for the same work . | xxj s. |

* The riding day.

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|---|---|
| Item for cariage fro Pentewyn to Trewardreith . | xj s. vij d. |
| Item y paied to Andre Opy for a pipe . . . | viij d. |
| Item to John Togyn for nayles for the knottis * and to stodel † and to the goter . . . . | xxij d. |
| Item to Thomas Colom for nayl to the same . . | iiij d. |
| Item paied to Ronold Mason for helyng yn the north syde . . . . . | vj s. viij d. |
| Item to Thomas Gylle for helyng there . . . | vj s. viij d. |
| Item y paide to Amys Codan for stodel . . . | viij d. |
| Item to Thomas Gille and Ronold Mason for the sam work . . . . . | v s. |
| Item to John Nicoll, Carpenter, for makyng the goter for the plumer . . . . . | xv d. |
| Item to John Antony for the same . . . . | xv d. |
| Item a tre y borth of Jervys Tayler . . . | viij d. |
| Item for makyng of a Mill. pynnys . . . . | ij d. |
| Item for a hacth nayle . . . . . | j d. |
| Item to Thomas Hawys for helyng yn the north Ilde . . . . . | v s. viij d. |
| Item for lyme . . . . . | ij s. viij d. |
| Item for iij. treis . . . . . Devyok . . . | ix d. |
| Item for iiij. Mill. ston . . . . . | x s. viij d. |
| Item to Ede Hancok for seruynt the helyng . . | vij s. viij d. |
| Item to John Anteny fore tymber fore the south goteris . . . . . | xxij d. |
| Item for cariage of the north tymber . . . | ij s. viij d. |
| Item to Richard Trote to ride to gete carer for the newe tymber . . . . . | x d. |
| Item to John Hogge for housyng latthis and lyme . | xvj d. |
| Item to Petrok Gwelys xix. dayes at more . . | ix s. vj d. |

* *Knottis*, bosses.

† "stodel?" = stadell, a support. This, however, is very doubtful, for the explanation does not agree with the use of the same word four lines below. It is probably some ancient local term.

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|---|---|
| Item to John Oggere for iij. pipis lyme & a barell ij s. for cariage . . . . . | |
| Item to John Helyere for iiij. Mill. pynnys . . | viij d. |
| Item to John Renawdyn juner for cariag tolys to the more and too semys * stonys home ayen . . | viij d. |
| Item lather for pargetyng † seynt John is Ilde . . | viij d. |
| Item to John Austell for seruyng the Carpenter ij. dayes . . . . . | viij d. |
| Item to Laurens renawdyn for scafelyng tymber . | viij d. |
| Item for vj. paires glovys to the Carpenteris . . | vj d. |
| Item for lyme to drew at seynt Wynnowe . | xiij s. iiij d. |
| Item to William Hamond for a cariag fro the more | ij s. |
| Item to Cowlynge Mill. stones . . . . . | ij s. x d. |
| Item to Huet iiij. Mill. stonis . . . . . | xj s. iiij d. |
| Item to Hewet for iij. cariagis fro the more . . | v s. x d. |
| Summa lxx li. xv s. vij d. | |
| Item for iij. Mill. ston . . . . . | viij s. |
| Item for a payuer ‡ . . . . . | iij d. |
| Item for a casier . . . . . | iij d. |
| Item payed to Gybbe for wynde bergis and the cariage is . . . . . | iiij s. vj d. |
| Item for grete stonys and tabell stonys . . . | vij s. |
| Item to Richard ffree and his felowys for grete stonys and tabell stonys . . . . . | xviij s. |
| Item for ij. Mill. stones . . . . . | v s. j d. |
| Item for cariage fro the downe the same tyme . . | iiij s. |
| Item to Shippere and Cowlyng for ij. Mill. stonys . | v s. ij d. |
| Item ij. cariages fro the more . . . . . | xl d. |
| Item to Roger Stevyn for a letter beryng to Tavystok | vj d. |
| Item to John Hygowe and Losquit for drynk bryngyng to the Church a tre . . . . . | ij d. |
| Item j. bushel of lyme . . . . . | iij d. |

* loads. † Laths for plastering. ‡ pavior.

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| Item to John Nicolyn and Antony for makyng of too sengelere* yn Ilde of Corpus Christi and yn the Chancelere . . . . . | xvj d. |
| Item to John Helyer for v. Mill. ston hewyng . . | ij s. j d. |
| Item Henr. Panter for help wene tymber . . . | iiij d. |
| Item for cariage of a tre y fet at Holewich Master Avery yef . . . . . | xij d. |
| Item for iiij. Mill. stonys x s. & viij d. of Thomas Berewek . . . . . | |
| Item to John Antony for worchyng apon the goteris | xxij d. |
| Item for ij. Mill. stonys of Russell . . . . | v s. ij d. |
| Item for cariage fro seynt Stevyn the same time . | xl d. |
| Item for ij. semys sond for the plomer . . . | ij d. |
| Item to Russell and Huet for iij. Mill. stonys . . | viij d. |
| Item for iij. lodis stonys fro the more the same tyme | v s. |
| Item to John Nicoll Antony for sawyng and worchyng apon the goteris . . . . . | iiij s. vij d. |
| Item to Thomas Heuet for ij. Mill. stonys . . | v s. iiij d. |
| Item to Thomas Russell for a lode of stonys fro the more . . . . . | xx d. |
| Item to Ric. Carpenter and to Thomas Reue for sawyng and worchyng apon the goteris . . . | ij s. viij d. |
| *Summa* v li. xj s. iiij d. | |

Also y paiede to the helyeris that helid † the Church:

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|---|---|
| ffrust to Thomas Gylle for xiiij. jornays & dimid. . | vj s. ob. |
| Item to Ronold Mason xiij. days & dimid. . . | v s. vij d. |
| Item to William Perish for x. dayes & dimid. . . | iiij s. ij d. |
| Item to John Roby for ix. dayes . . . . | iij s. ix d. |
| Item to Thomas Hancok for xiiij. dayes & dimid. . | vj s. |
| Item to John Deyowe for x. dayes . . . . | iiij s. ij d. |
| Item to a seruant of Thomas Gylle xiij. dayes & dimid. | v s. vij d. |

* Wild boars; figures of wild boars for some ornament, perhaps armorial.

† *Helid*, covered or roofed.

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|---|---|
| It*em* to a *ser*uant to Ronold Mason for xiiij. & di*mid.* | vj s. ob. |
| It*em* to Thom*as* Hawys for xiiij. dayes & di*mid.* . | vj s. ob. |
| It*em* to Thom*as* Gille for vj. M*ill.* pynnys . . | ij s. |
| It*em* to Thomas hancok for v. M*ill.* pynnys . . | xx d. |
| It*em* to John Deyowe for iij. jornays . . . | xv d. |
| S*umma* liij s. iij d. ob. | |

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|---|---|
| Also y paiede to John Hancok for helyng seynt John is Ilde yn taxk . . . . . | xx s. |
| S*umma* xx s. | |

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|---|---|
| Also y borth latth nayle of Barth*olemew* Trote ix. M*ill.* . . . . . | ix s. iij d. |
| It*em* of John Plum*er* j. M*ill.* . . . . . | xvij d. |
| It*em* of Barth*olemew* iij. M*ill.* . . . . . | iij s. |
| S*umma* xiij s. viij d. | |

Latth Nayl yevyn with Au*er*y Skeys of Hayshportone* iiij. M*ill.* . . . . . .
John Trelodrowe ij. Mill ccc. . . . . .
Henr*y* Trelodrowe xviij. c. . . . . .
*De* John Bosowe ij. M*ill* . . . . . .
*De* John Smyth M*ill* . . . . . .
*De* John Bowyer M*ill* . . . . . .
*De* John Huc iiij. M*ill* helyng stonys . . . .
*De* Thomas Bere we hadd his hous for the Carpent*er*is.
Thomas Lucomb*e* glasid the gabill wyndowe yn seynt John is Ilde.
Barth*olemew* Trote and Rof*e* Dyer made the wyndowe and glasid next to seynt John.
Will*iam* Olyver of Bodynyell made the next wyndow to that and glasid hym.

* Ashburton.

Odo Robyn & Pasch Robyn glasyd the nexte wyndow to yn seynt John is Ilde.

John Watte glasid the wyndow yn the south next to seynt John is Ilde.

Auery Skeys of Haysportone * yef the yre work a yre of the large wyndow yn the south parti the west wyndowe there.

*Summa* ix li. xiij s. j ob.

+ 1471°.

This is the expenc don hoc *Anno* post *festum* Pasche.

| | |
|---|---|
| ffrust for lyme to John Benyt of Padestowe v. pip*is* . | xx s. |
| Item to John Anteny for makyng iiij. synt*er*nys and ij. dreyes . . . . . | xv d. |
| Item for hurdel*s* . . . . . | vij d. |
| Item for hurdel*s* . . . . . | xiiij d. |
| Item for nayl*s* to mend the dreys . . . . | j d. |
| Item for cariag*e* of vij. barell*s* lyme fro Pendevy to Thomas Hendy and Laur*ence* Renawdyn . . | |
| Item for cariag*e* of xviij. barell*s* to theym . . | ij s. viij d. |
| Item for a pip*e* of lyme to John Benyt . . . | iiij s. iiij d. |
| Item y paied to Ric*hard* Fre for stonys for . . . . . tabell . . . . . | vij s. j d. |
| Item to Will. Hamond for cariage fro the more . | iij s. iiij d. |
| Item for a last of lyme at Padestowe . . . | xij s. |
| Item for cariag*e* of lyme . . . . . | ij s. |
| Item for cariag*e* of neld*is* for scafelys . . . | vj d. |
| Item y paid for hokis to the Church dore and to the vyse dore xlviij lb. S*umma* . . . . | iiij s. |
| Item for hokis to bere the lede pipis . . . | vij d. |
| Item y paied to Will*iam* Mayow for stonys for the gras tabell and got*er* stonys . . . . | vij s. j d. |
| Item to Will*iam* Hamond for cariag*e* fro the more . | xx d. |

* Ashburton.

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|---|---|
| Item y paied to Patrik Lynch for chengyng of a bad nobill wich was recevyd of seynt Martyn is Ilde . . . . . | viij d. |
| Item to William Hamond for cariage fro the more . | xxv s. v d. |
| Item to William Hamond for cariage of xiij. lodis fro Bodynyell . . . . . | iiij s. iiij d. |
| Item for xij. hurdel . . . . . | xxj d. |
| Item for a berewe . . . . . | ij d. |
| Item for a half pipe . . . . . | iiij d. |
| Item to the masonys for worchyng vnder the gras tabell afore Witsonday yn the South parti and the porch . . . . . | xxxiij s. |
| Item for a quarter lyme . . . . . | xvj d. |
| Item Mill. stonys . . . . . | ij s. viij d. |
| Item to John Davy of Padystowe for xx. barell . | xix s. |
| Item to John Tailer for cariage of stonys fro the . . . and lyme . . . . . | ix s. vj d. |
| Item for ij. barell of lyme to William Malet . . | ij s. |
| Item . . . . . ij. barell of lyme . . . . | ij s. |
| Item y paied for iiij lb. lede for the hokis to the Ch . . . . . | |
| Item to William Hamond for a cariage fro the more | xx d. |
| Item for vj. lodis fro Bodiniell . . . . | ij s. |
| Item y paied to William Tregonwell and his broder for lyme . . . . . | xxij s. |
| Item for Raysn for the wyndowys . . . . | ij d. |
| Item to John Androw carier yn drynke . . . | ij d. |
| Item y paied to Thomas Bodynyell for stonys for the gras tabell . . . . . | |
| *Summa* ix li. xiiij s. x d. | |

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|---|---|
| Also y payde to Thomas Colom for ij. wyndowys yre work cccclxix lb. . . . . | xliij s. j d. |
| Item to John Togyon for a wyndowe . . | xxj s. viij d. |

Item for drynke to theym . . . ij d.
Item for strawe for keuerynge of the south wall and the Porch dimid. c and dimid. quarter . . xij d. ob.
Summa

. . . . . y haue paied to Sam. Carpenter for parti of the taxk of the rof yn the South Ilde Anno E. iiij$^{ti}$ xi$^{mo}$ as hit aperith by a count betwene the seide Sam and me . . . vj li. xvj s. viij d.
Summa vj li. xvj s. viij d.

. . . . . y haue paied to Richard Richow and to Robert Wettor ffor the taxk work, pelouris, porch, and wall yn the South parti hath recevyd xiij li. xj s. viij d.
Summa xiij li. xj s. viij d.

Also y paied to John Donworthi for cariage of lyme xiiij d.
Item lathis y caried fro Pendevy . . . . iiij d.
Item for ij. lodis fro the more with hors and caria the masons tolis . . . . . x d.
Item to William mason is broder for makyng the stondyng vnder seynt Johns fote and the other syde . . . . . xl d.
Item the masonys at More yn Laynte Anno Edwardi 4$^{ti}$ xij$^{mo}$.
Ric. Richowe xxj. days . . . . . x s. vj d.
Item Robert Wettor xxvij. jornays . . . . xiij s. vj d.
Item Richard Witforth xxvj. days . . . . xiij s.
Item William Hayn xxvj. days . . . . xiij s.
Item y payede for stonys caried fro Pentewyn to Trewardreith . . . . . iiij s. vij d.
Item ij. workmen hirid at more j. day . . . viij d.
Item John Tayler for cariage of his carte at More .

Item for naylis for the Middell Rof . . . . viij d.
Item for expenc to Richard Trote for to labore to have the tymber home . . . . . x d.
Item for naylis for the goteris and the Middell Rof . iij s. iij ob.
Item for cariage of free stonys fro Pentewyn ad Trewardreith . . . . . x s.

Summa

Also y paied to John Hancok for parti of the taxk x s. wich the masonys axith xl s. with the seide x s. of the ffrust taxk of the peloris.
Item pro quarter lyme Johanni White . . . xvj d.

Owne a countid.

After this y payed to William Malet over that John Bryant yef to the work ij s. for lathis, that is to sey, Mill. wich seruyd this last work.
Item to Richard Bryant for crestis . . . . xxij d.
Item to Thomas Margaret for lath nayl . . . viij d.

Summa xxxviij li. xxiij d.

## Ultimo anno E. iiij$^{ti}$ xij$^{o}$.

Compotus Thome Lucombe maioris pro ffabrice Ecclesie a die Sancti ffrancissi usque mensis Junii Anno Edwardi 4$^{ti}$ 12$^{o}$.
Inprimis receptum de parochia ex vetere debito pro medietate anni, viz. tempore Thome Jerman . xxxv s.
Et receptum tempore Thome Jerman de j. die Septembris xxv s. iij d. de diuersis parcellis, viz. de Ricardo Tayler, de Thoma Rechyn et aliis .
Et recepi pro isto Anno de j. die Septembris . . iij li.
Et de congregatione Sancti Luce Euangelist . . ix s.

*De* uxo*re* Joha*nn*is Jagow iiij s. ij d. tempo*re* Jerman
Et de b*ea*te Marie in Cancellar*io* . . . . . ix s.
Et B*e*nedict Traer . . . . . iij li. vij s. viij d.
Et de l*imine* S*ancte* Kat*e*rine . . . . . v s. vij d.
Et de l*imine* S*ancti* Steph*ani* . . . . . viij s. j d.
De diu*ersis* hom*ini*b*us* in penijs dat*um* . . . iiij s. ij d.
Et recepi in Eve Pasche ap*ud* le Bery p*ro* fabric*e* Capell*e* ibidem . . . . . iij s.
Et pro j. plank vendit*o* in eccl*es*ia . . . . . iiij d.
*De* gild s*ancti* Georgii . . . . . xxx s. j d.
Et de donat*ione* mulier*um* congre*gationis* in Eve Pasche xxij s. iij d.
Et de gild*a* Corp*oris Christi* . . . . . v li. vj s. viij d.
Et de gild*a* Erasmi . . . . . iiij li. ij s. vij d.
*De* l*imine* leodegari . . . . . xv d. ob.
*De* gild*a* s*ancti* Jacobi . . . . . v s. vj d.
*De* Maria Magdal*ena* . . . . . xiij s. v d.
*De* l*imine* Gregorii . . . . . xxiij d.
*De* s*ancte* Clare . . . . . iij s. vij d.

S*umma* xxiiij li. xvij s. vj d.

M*emoran*d*um* de expenc*is* p*ro* ffabric*a* Eccl*es*ie.
Inp*ri*mis sol*utum* Joh*anni* Sam Carpent*er* in p*ar*te sol*utionis* . . . . . xiiij li.
It*em* p*ro* crec*is* . . . . . xvj d.
It*em* p*ro* cariag*e* de le more ij. cariag*is* . . . viij d.
Et p*ro* cariag*e* de Lyme de Pendevy . . . ij d.
It*em* Ric*ardo* Wetter cu*m* sociis suis p*ro* scapelyng ad More . . . . . viij s.
It*em* s*er*uienti ib*ide*m 4 dies . . . . . xvj d.
It*em* j. q*uar*t*er* lyme . . . . . xvj d.
It*em* Ric*ardo* Wetter p*ro* le Taske et Ric . . . . . vij li. viij s. In parte solucionis et iij li. . .
It*em* p*ro* cariag*e* de la carte ab More usq*ue* Trewardreith . . . . . x d.

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| Item licencia pro terra apud le More . . . | x d. |
| Item pro le keueryng pro le wall . . . . | iiij d. |
| Item xij. barell lyme . . . . . | xij s. |
| Item pro cariage . . . . . | iiij d. |
| Item Waltero fforth pro keuere le porch . . . | vj d. |
| Item workmanship tymber pro le porch . . . | ix s. j d. |
| Item j. pipe lyme . . . . . | iiij s. |
| Item ij. quarteris lyme . . . . . | ij s. viij d. |
| Item for raggis for le porch . . . . . | v s. |
| Item Wetter xiij. jornayes pro le porch . . . | vj s. vj d. |
| Item Hayne xvij. jornays . . . . . | viij s. vj d. |
| Item Whitefford xvj. jornayes . . . . . | viij s. |
| Thomas Hancok xiiij. jornayes . . . . . | v s. x d. |
| Ric. Richow v. jornays . . . . . | ij s. vj d. |
| Item for grete Raggis for the Porch . . | xiij s. x d. ob. |
| Item William Hamelyn ix. lodis for axse . . | xv s. |
| Item ad Walter Bocher for carpenter work . . | |
| Item for lede & cartyng . . . . . | v s. iij d. |
| Item for ij c. lede . . . . . | xiiij s. |
| Item for iiij. barells lyme . . . . . | iiij s. |

## Proximo Anno.

Memorandum de compoto Thome Lucombe et Thome Jerman receptorum pro fabrica ecclesie Bodminie A . . . . . .

Inprimis receptum de proficuis Ecclesie condonatis per vicarium pro Vno anno integro xxvij li. viij . . . . . inde ad presbitrum ad seruiendum curiam * . . . . . vj li. xiij s. iiij d.

Et sunt de claro recepta . . . . . xx li. xv s. v d.

Summa xx li. xv s. v d.

* The Vicar appears to have given a year's income, 27*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.*, deducting from it the Curate's salary, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

Item receptum de gilda equitum f pro eorum Jantacle * condonatum per communitatem pro eodem Anno et Anno proxime sequenti . ix li. vj s. viij d.

Summa ix li. vj s. viij d.

Item receptum de gilda sancti Thome Martyris in cimiterio . . . . . xl s.

Et de Johanne Yeme clerico pro ux . . . . . ffuller de Plymmouth . . . . . xxvj s. viij d.

Et Thomas Lucomb dedit . . . vj li. xiij s. iiij d.

Summa x li.

Memorandum quod solutum pro tymber empto yn diuersis locis . . . . . vj li. xix s. viij d.

Item pro scapelyng . . . . . xiij s. x d.

Et pro cariage . . . . . vij li. viij s. x d.

Item 4 Mill. stonys . . . . . xij s.

Et factura le workhous . . . . . xxij s. xj d. ob.

Et pro factura dreys et berwys . . . . ix s. x d.

Item pro groundyng the Wallys . . . . liiij s. xj d.

Et Willielmo Carpenter de Bedyforth pro parte of the taxk . . . . . xv li. viij s.

Et plumer pro campanibus . . . . xix s. viij d.

Et Johanni Rogger de lonk . . . . xliiij s. viij d.

Et Willielmo Hoper . . . . . .

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* See note, page 4. *Jantacle*, another name for the Ridyng and sports; from *jaunt*.

## Anno E[*dwardi*] iiij$^{ti}$ ix° x° et xj° usque festum sancti Michaelis Archangeli.

Compotus of Thomas Jerman recever of the byllynge of the Parish Church of Bodmyn.

Inprimis recevyd for old tymber and too wyndowys sold . . . . . iiij li. xx d.

Summa iiij li. xx d.

Also for wexe perteynyng to the church, and other mony recevyd as the paper apereth . . iiij li. xviij s.

Summa iiij li. xviij s.

Also of dyuers mony of strangeris and of arrerages and old gere sold as hit aperith . iiij li. xij s. viij d.

Summa iiij li. xij s. viij d.

Also recevyd of the v. stewardis Anno Edwardi iiij$^{ti}$ by a composiscon for ther dyuerys as hit aperith yn the paper . . . iiij li. xiij s. iiij d.

Summa iiij li. xiij s. iiij d.

Also he hath recevyd of the Ildis pertynynge to the Church and Parishe as hit aperith by his paper lxix li. iiij d.

Summa lxix li. iiij d.

Also recevyd of gaderyng of Wexe silver as hit aperith afore . . . . . xxxiij s. xj d.

Summa xxxiij s. xj d.

Also another of gaderyng of wexe and of sertayn Ildis as hit aperith . . . . . iij li. xix s. v d.

Summa iij li. xix s. v d.

Also y recevyd of a graunt y yef voluntarie thorghout the town as hit aperith by the namys . l li. viij s. j d.

Summa l li. viij s. j d.

Also y recevyd of the bequest of Raf Dyer vj li. xiij s. iiij d.
*Summa* vj li. xiij s. iiij d.

Also y recevyd of a grant ygreid thorghout the town j d. a weke of a man, and obolus of serteyn personys delyuered by sertayn receuerys as the paper aperith . . . . . .
*Summa* xxiiij li. xiij s.

Also y recevyd for Ayshis sold yn the Church hay . xvij s. x d.
*Item* alia parua . . . . . xxix s. viij d. ob.
*Summa* xlvij s. vj d. ob.

Also of dyuers personys as hit aperith yn paper and of the maydenys of the town *Anno* . xxix s. viij d. ob.
*Summa* v li. viij s. iiij d. ob.

Also of Corpus *Christi* is Ilde A° E. iiij$^{ti}$ x$^{mo}$ and of the ridyng Ildis A° E*dwardi* iiij$^{ti}$ xj$^{mo}$ as hit aperith, and of the arrerages of the Wardenys parcell therof . . . . . ix li. iij s. j d.
*Summa* ix li. iij s. j d.

*Summa* tot*alis* $\overset{xx}{\text{ix}}$ xvj li. vij s. iiij ob. Resp*ondeo* vij s. vj d. p*ro* gild*a* of the wich reseit y payed apon the bylling of the Church as hit aperith yn this seide paper by parcell as hit was paied . . . . . $\overset{xx}{\text{ix}}$ xiiij li. iij s. vj d. ob.
Et *sunt* deb*ita* de claro . . . . xxxvj s. iij d. ob.
Also y am chargit of vj li. xiij s. iiij d. of Thomas Lucombe yn the 1 li. viij s. j d. and hit was paied yn the sead acompot as hit aperit. Et d*ebet* . . . . . v li. iij s. xj d. ob.

*Memorandum* die veneris ante festum Simonis & Jude Anno E. iiij$^{ti}$xj$^{o}$ Pro gilda sancti Eloy condonatum Anno Edwardi iiij$^{ti}$x$^{mo}$ Thomas Colom debet ex donatione et congregatione j d. per septimatim et obolum per compotum vj li. v s. iij d. inde solutum in argento . . . . . xxxiij s. iiij d.

Also yn makyng of to wyndowys xliij s. j d. Et debet . . . . . xlviij s. x d.

Gilda Sancti Aniani Episcopi debet pro eadem materia x li. xvj s. vj d. Et solutum per compotum in argento ix li. xiij s. iiij d. Et debet xxiij s. ij d. ob. inde Johannes Cok solvit iij s. v d. Johanni Watte.

Gilda sancti Martini Episcopi debet per compotum iij li. x s. viij d. inde solutum l s. Et debet de claro xx s. viij d. Inde solutum maiori iiij s. Et Johanni Watte ij s. viij d.

Gilda sancti Johannis Baptiste debet ix li. vij s. ix d. inde solutum vj li. xj s. ix d. Et debet de claro lvj s. inde solutum maiori et Jerman xx s.

Gilda sancti Petroci iiij li. ij s. xj d. inde solutum xlj s. Et debet xlj s. xj d. inde solutum iiij s. v d. maiori.

Isti qui non sunt in gildis de Bartholomeo Trote maiore reeptum vij s. . . . . in manibus Thome Jerman.

*Memorandum* de v s. pro Jo. Glyn in manu Laurencii Renaudyn et solutum sicut dixit maior in diuersis careagiis . . . . . xx d.

Memorandum quod sunt in Rotulo Thome Jerman a retro de gildis et de donatione exonerata Thome predicti ut patet in Rotulo cum distr . . vij li. ix s. vj d.
Et cum Henrico Moyle v s. Et cum Elena Wodecok ij s.
Et cum domino Willielmo presbitero ij s. viij d. pro old tymber empto
Pro primo Anno pro gilda sancti Eloy.

Memorandum quod est in manibus Thome Colom ex congregatione j d. et obolus septimatim die Dominico ante festum purificationis Beate Marie Virginis Anno Edwardi iiij^ti xj^o . . . xlviij s. x d.
Et cum Ricardo Dyuer pro congregatione gilda sancti Petroci a retro . . . . . xlj s. xj d.
Et cum senescallo sancti Martini Episcopi a retro xx s. viij d.
Et cum Ricardo Tailer pro Gilda sancti Johannis Baptiste . . . . . lvj s.
Et cum Thoma Willyam et Johanne Cok pro gilda sancti Aniani Episcopi . . . . xxiij s. vj d. ob.
Et cum Maiore pro illis qui non sunt in gilda . .

Memorandum de crestis pro ecclesia et xxvj s. viij d. pro legato uxoris Roberti ffuller et ij s. ex donatione uxoris Johannis N . . . . . .

Compotus Ricardi Tailer pro gilda Sancti Johannis Baptiste pro eadem condonacione pro primo anno Summa onerata.

De quibus solutum vij li. xj s. ix d. Thome Jerman. Et xx s. Thome Lucombe. Et est in manibus Johannis Trefarthian adhuc. Et est in diuersis manibus a retro ut patet, videlicet cum Roberto
iiij d. iij s. x d.
Cok, Johanne Davy, Johanne Trefarthian, Wil-

ij d. ij s. vj d. xvj d.
*lielmo* Hunne, Henr*ico* Pant*er*, Amicia Cothan,
iiij d. viij d.
Will*ielmo* Androwe Jun^r, Elizabet Strypa, Ri-
ij d.
*cardo* Wilkok.

S*umma* a retro.

Ric*ard*us Wilkok recepit v li. iij s. ob. Et sol*utum* in *summa* sup*ra*dict*a*. Et Joh*annes* Trefarthian soci*us* ei*us* rec*epit* iij li. xiiij s. Et sol*utum* in *summa* p*re*dict*a* iij li. ix s. iij d. Et sol*utum* Thome Lucomb*e* xv d. Et debet iij s. v d. ob.

Idem Ric*ard*us compot*um* p*ro* eadem p*ro* 2° A*nno*.

Et est in diu*ersis* man*ib*us vid*elicet* cu*m* Bartho*lo-*
v s. vij d. iij s. ix d xij d.
*meo* Trote, Will*ielmo* Trote, Joh*anne* Watte,
ij d. ij s. iiij d. xij d.
Rob*erto* Cok, Henr*ico* Moyle, Thomas Soor,
iiij d. ij s. ij d.
Will*ielmo* Hogge, Joh*anne* Mayow, Joh*anne*
iiij d. x d. xiij d.
Davy, drap*er*, Henr*ico* Chekke, Will*ielmo* Laury,
v d. xij d.
Joh*anne* Laury, tailor, Rob*erto* Browne, Nicho-
xiiij d.
*lao* White, Henr*ico* Pant*er*, Patrik Lynch, Wil-
xiiij d. xiiij d.
l*ielmo* Androwe, Ric*ardo* Teyler, Will*ielmo*
iiij d. ij s. ij d. xiij d.
Lynne, Henr*ico* Kennystowe, Dauyd Barn,
x d. viij d.
Thomas Hogge, Rob*erto* Besta.

Compotus Joh*ann*is Wever rec*eptoris* de gilda *sancti* Joh*ann*is Bapt*iste* p*ro* 3° A*nno* . S*umma* on*er*at*a*. De quib*us* sol*utum* Odoni Robyn receptori v li. Et Joh*anni* Rawe.

S*umma*

Et sic debet . . . . . quod est in diuersis manibus videlicet. Et est in manibus Roberti Cok, xvj d. Henrici Moyle, v s. Johannis Walter, Thomas Bere, xiij d. Johannis Besta, xiij d. Johannis Mayowe, iij s. iij d. Johannis Raulyn, ij s. iiij d. Johannis Davy, Edmund Beket, iiij s. iiij d. Rogeri Wodecok, xij d. Willielmi Hogge, viij d. Ricardi Tayler, xviij d. Johannis Hoig Junr, xij d. Johannis Netherton, Jervys Tayler, viij d. Johannis Laury, viij d. Henrici Panter, iiij s. iiij d. Margarete Amore, Johannis Trefarthian, vij d. Odonis Senyowe, vij d. Raf Credy, xj d. Willielmi Androw Junr, xij d. Ricardi Bere, vj d. Johannis Watte, Bartholomei Trote.

Summa quod recepit ante festum purificationis Beate Marie vj li. xij s. j d.

Summa non recepta l s. v d. Et ix s. viij d. pro B. T. et Jo. Watte. Et xviij d. pro Ricardo Tayler.

## Gilda Sancti Eloy.

Compotus Thome Colom receptoris de gilda sancti Eloy Episcopi pro anno . . . . . .

De quibus solutum Thome Jerman in argento, xxxiij s. iiij d.

Et solutum in faciendo ij. fenestras ad fabricam ecclesiam videlicet pro factura ferri, xliij s.

Memorandum quod Thomas Colom debet ecclesie

*sancti* Augustini *per* compotum Anno Edwardi iiij$^{ti}$ xiiij$^{o}$ v s. vij d.

Summa

Et sic debet a retro quod est in diuersis manibus, viz.

ut patet videlicet in manibus Thome Cartor, iiij d. ij s. ij d. Emote Davy, Johannis Gwelis, Sol. ij s. ij d. Johanna Pascow, xiiij d. xij d. Janyn Sadeler, Roberti Baby, Willielmi Perish, ij d. Roberti Sadeler, Johannis A . . . . . Plemyn, Johannis Hancok, Johannis Broch, Rogeri Smyth . . . . . .

Compotus Johannis Togyon vt supra pro 2° Anno summa onerata.

De quibus solutum Odoni Robyn x s. Et pro factura ferri pro fenestra pro le porch xij s. iiij d. Et pro debito in tempore Bartholomei Trote et Thome Jerman xx d. Et pro factura ferri pro fenestra Johanni Watte viij d.

Summa xxx

Et est in manibus Thome Lucomb pro Willielmo Mason ij s. Et pro Joachym Hoper ij s. ij d. Et pro dutistman xvj d. Item pro Thoma Barbor xvj d. Et pro Ewan Goldsmyth ij s. ij d. Et pro Petro Sadler x d. Et pro Johanne Plemyn xiiij d. Et pro Thoma Hawys xvj d. Et pro Johanna Pascowe xij d.

Summa xiij s. iiij d. quos Thomas Lucombe solvit in compoto suo vt patet in compoto.

Et allocat sibi diuersis hominibus quibus allocavit in operibus suis . . . . . Gwelis . . . . . xj d. Et Johanni Antony xx d. Et Johanni Nycolyn

ij s. ij d. Et Mathæo Carpenter ij s. ij d. . . . .
Mason ij s. ij d. Et Johanni Hancok Jun^r
iiij s. iij d.

Summa xiiij s. iij d.

Summa recepta retornata et allocata in opere. Et
iij s. . . .d. pro diuersis naylis vt per bill.
Item d . . . habent de . . . videlicet Johannes Bosow
xiiij d. j. panne. Johannes Gunner xvj d. j. pot.
Summa

ij s. ij d.
Isti qui sunt a retro Thomas Carter, Emot Davy,
Sol. ij s. ij d. xiiij d.
Johanna Gwelys, Johanna Pascow, Janyn
xij d. vj d. ij s.
Sadeler, Johannes Trelodrowe, Robertus Baby,
xx d. ij s. ij d.
Johannes Hatter, Willielmus Perish, Robert
xvj d. v d.
Sadeler, Johannes Austell Jun^r, Johannes
ij d. x d. xiij d.
Plemyn, Thomas Hancok, Johannes Bronch,
vj d. ij s. vij d.
Roger Smyjth, Johannes Goldsmyjth.
Summa

Compotus Sampsonis Trefrozowe pro 3° Anno.
De quibus solutum Odoni Robyn receptori xxiiij s.
viij d.
Et solutum Johanni Rowe x s.
Summa
ij s. ij d.
Et est in manibus Johannis Hancok Ju^r, Johannis
iiij s. iiij d. viij d. iij s. iiij d.
Togyon, Johannis Brenton, Thomas Colom,
viij d.
Thomas Hawys, carpenter, . . . . . Johannis

ij s. ij d. ij s. ij d.
Auto . . . . Joh*annis* Nicolyn, Roger*i* . . . . .
ij s. ij d. xiiij d.
tymb*er*, Will*ielmi* Perish, Henr*ici* Trelodrowe,
ij s. ij d. viij d.
Rob*erti* Baby, Joh*annis* Davy, Thome Colom,
ij s. ij d. iij s. ij d.
Emota Davy, . . . . . Gwelys, Joh*anne* . . . . .
j s. ij d. xxij d.
Et distr de Reginald*o* Mason j vlt. Petr*o* Sadeler
xij d. xiiij d.
j. par*cell*, Thom*as* Gimes j. vlt. Joh*anne* Bosow
j. par*cell*, Tho . . . . . pl. Walt*ero* Bocher,
ij d. ij s. ij d. ij s. ij d.
. . . . . Joh*anne* Hatt*er*, Joachym hop*er*
ij s. ij d.
mort*uus est*, Joh*anne* Hancok sen^r^.

Compot*us* Joh*ann*is Tanner et Thomas Willyam p*ro* congregac*ionis* condonac*ione* j d. septi*mat*i*m* et ob*oli* septi*mat*i*m* pr*o*vt pat*et* in papir*o* taxac*ion*is pr*imo* A*nno*.

S*umma* one*rata* inde Joh*ann*es et Thomas solvunt ix li. xix s. x d.

Et s*ic* rest*at* a retro in diu*ersis* ma*n*ib*us* vt pat*et*.

Compot*us* Steph*an*i Greby p*ro* ead*em* condonac*ione* p*ro* 2° A*nno*.

S*umma* one*rata*.

De quib*us* sol*utum* Thome Lucombe xxx s. Et Odoni Robyn liij s. iiij d. Et iij li. vj s. viij d. Et xxj s. vij d. Et ix s. iiij d. Et s*ic* rest*at* a ret*ro* q*uo*d est in diu*ersis* ma*n*ib*us* vt pat*et* vide-
iiij d iij d.
l*icet* in ma*n*ib*us* Rob*er*ti Rush, Joh*ann*is Hick,
iiij d. iiij d.
Joh*annis* Hay sen^r^, Joh*annis* Hay Jun^r^, Jo-h*annis* Cristian Jun^r^, Nich*olai* Tomma, Joh*ann*is

ij d. ij s. ij d. xvij d.
Tomma wek, Raf Hopkyn, Joh*annis* Austell,
ij s. ij d. xx d.
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xj d. iiij d. xxiij d.
Symon, Rob*erti* Leya, Rob*erti* John, Joh*annis*
xij d. xij d.
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xij d.
Joh*annis* Davy claw*ter*, Joh*annis* Harvy, Regi-
ij s. ij d.
*na*ldi Trefrozow, Ric*ardi* Carant*e*, Steph*ani*
viij d. xxj d.
Watte, Luke Powna.

Et h*ab*ent pleg*ium* p*ro* Thoma Hay j. pan ij s. ij d.
Et p*ro* Will*ielmo* Bremhisgrof*e* j. pot p*ro* xij d.
Et p*ro* Tho*ma* Dakis xxij d. distr cu*m* Tho*ma*
Jerman. Et p*ro* Joh*anne* Harry ij s. j d. distr
j. pan cu*m* maior*e*. Et p*ro* Joh*anne* Laury
distr j. pot ij s.

## Ipsi qui dedere voluntarie ad ffabricam Ecclesie Bodminie.

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| Thomas Archer | iij s. iiij d. |
| Gy Sadeler | iij s. iiij d. |
| Magg. Barbor | viij d. |
| Thomas Barbor | xx d. |
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| Nicholas Gurdeler | ij d. |
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| Pers Sadeler | xx d. |
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| Johannes Jamis | xx d. |
| Ricardus Hunt seruus N. Colyn | iiij d. |
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| Nicholas Colyn seruus Hardy | iiij d. |
| Stephanus Greby | vj s. viij d. |
| Johannes Gatty | xx d. |
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| Janyn Sadeler | xiij s. iiij d. |
| Thomas Wat cordyner | xx d. |

* Erased with pen.

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| Johannes Wille | ij s. |
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| Willielmus Andrew | iij s. iiij d. |
| Johannes Gyll | iij s. iiij d. |
| Willielmus Tomma | ij s. |
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| Thomas Crypson | vj s. viij d. |
| Johannes Hervy | iij s. iiij d. |
| Raw Karedy | xx d. |
| Johannes Wat | |
| Thomas Wotton | iij s. iiij d. |
| Jenet Trystram | xij d. |
| Parnell Rede | xij d. |
| Uxor Netherton | viij d. |
| Uxor T. Edmond | iiij d. |
| Nicholas Howe | vj s. viij d. |
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| Elinor Wodecok | ij s. |
| Thomas Hendre | vj d. |
| Uxor eius | ij d. |
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| Thomas Southwode | vj s. viij d. |
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| Johannes Wade | ij s. |
| Thomas Hay | iij s. iiij d. |
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| Johannes Laury Teylder | xij d. |
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| Johannes Dertemouth | x s. |
| Johannes Martyn | iij s. iiij d. |
| Johannes Hancok Senor | v s. |

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Uxor eius . . .
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Johannes Bony . . xij d.

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| Luke Powne . . | iiij d. |
| Johannes Cradok . . | xij d. |
| Johannes Taberer . . | viij d. |
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| Johannes Tankard . | xij d. |
| Johannes Skever . . | |
| Thomas Body . . | xij d. |
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| Davy Toker . . | iij s. iiij d. |
| Willielmus Body . . | vij d. |
| Remfre Rothen . . | ij s. |
| Jenet Syngwell . . | iiij d. |
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| Johannes Benet . . | xij d. |
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| Harry Checker . . | xij d. |
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| Rogerus Cornysh . . | viij d. |
| Wyllielmus Broun . | vj s. |
| Ricardus Columb . . | xx d. |
| Johannes Edmund . | xij d. |
| Johannes Braunch Ser . | viij d. |
| Martynus Beryn . | vj s. viij d. |
| Johannes Rodde . . | vj d. |

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| Johannes Walter . . | ij s. |
| Robertus Hoke . . | xij d. |
| Willielmus Hoygge . | xx d. |
| Johannes Wat Jun^or . | ij s. |
| Willielmus Dole . . | xx d. |
| Johannes Wat Koc . | xx d. |
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| Johannes Bryand . | vj s. viij d. |
| Johannes Renaudyn myl-ler . . . | xx d. |
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| Thomas ffycke . . | |
| Jenet Bryand . . | xij d. |
| Johannes Austell smyth M^l neyll . . | ij s. |
| Johannes seruus eius . | xij d. |
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| Johannes Prey . . | xij d. |
| Johannes Davy laborer . | |
| Jenet Bycbery . . | ij s. |
| Robyn Broun . . | iiij d. |
| Pascow Lokyer . . | ij s. |
| Johannes Harnan . . | j d. |
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| Isabella Laury . . | iiij d. |
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| Johannes Randowe . | xij d. |

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| Annis Provys | | iiij d. |
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| Johannes Thomas Gorlek | | vj d. |
| Robertus Salt | | xx d. |
| Nicholas Trethelyn | vj s. | viij d. |
| Baudyn Calway | vj s. | viij d. |
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| Raubyn Blower | | iiij d. |
| Jenet Helston | | iiij d. |

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| Robertus Courtes | | vj d. |
| Martyn Nowell | | xx d. |
| Robertus Sadeler | iij s. | iiij d. |
| Johannes Stephyn | | iiij d. |
| Luce Cote | | xx d. |
| Ricardus Ber | vj s. | viij d. |
| Johannes Russell | | |
| Johannes Bere | | xij d. |
| Kateryn | | xij d. |
| Thomas Eme | | xij d. |
| Jenet Merefylde | | xx d. |
| Ricardus Fourthe | | |
| Perkyn Mason | | ij s. |
| Johannes Lokyer | | iiij d. |
| Rogerus Wat | | vj d. |
| Robertus Ley | | xij d. |
| Jenet Kernek | | ij d. |
| Johannes Anteney | | |
| Uxor eius | | j d. |
| Cornelys Hoper | | viij d. |
| Thomas Robyn | | vj d. |
| Jenet Moyll | | xv s. |
| Johannes Motty | | viij d. |
| Johannes Harry | | viij d. |
| Vryn Goldsmyth | | xx d. |
| Johannes Goldsmyth | | viij d. |
| Uxor eius | | j d. |
| J. Trewenyn | | xvj d. |
| Wyllelmus Teke | | viij d. |
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### Hony Stret.

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| Richardus John | | xx d. |
| Ricardus Welet | iij s. | iiij d. |
| Johannes Thoma | | xx d. |
| Thomas Columb | | xx d. |
| Robertus Baby | | viij d. |
| Johannes Botreax | | xij d. |
| Jenet Paschowe | iij s. | iiij d. |
| Rawe Myllar | iij s. | iiij d. |
| J. Raulyn tanner | | xij d. |
| Ricardus Senyowe | | xij d. |
| J. Thomas Wege | | xx d. |
| Johannes Penhale | | xij d. |
| Johannes Donworthy | | iiij d. |
| Johannes Courtes | | xx d. |
| Johannes Doune | | xij d. |

Alic*ia* Pole . . ij s. vj d.
Will*ielm*us Pole . . xij d.
Will*ielm*us Koc . . xx d.
Thom*as* Guner . . viij d.
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Will*ielm*us Penvos . xvj d.
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Jo*hannes* Hicke . . xij d.
Jamis Codan . . xij d.
Johannes Mu*n*day . viij d.
Uryn Scolemaster . iij s. iiij d.
Ric*ardus* Nakys . .
Panston . . . viij d.

| | |
|---|---|
| Nance Jagowe | iiij d. |
| Walterus Pyper | iiij d. |
| Ebot Brasyer | iiij d. |
| Ricardus Spicer | j d. |

POLE STRET.

| | |
|---|---|
| Mohun | |
| Thomas Olly | viij d. |
| Johannes Roby Coc | xx d. |
| Willielmus Glyn | x s. |
| Johannes Coche | xij d. |
| Willielmus Carpynter | ij s. |
| Uxor eius | xij d. |
| Walterus Downe | ij s. |
| Ricardus Carpynter | viij d. |
| Willielmus Mathy | iij s. iiij d. |
| Johannes Rawlyn | xij d. |
| Robertus Dyer | vj s. viij d. |
| Thomas Uryn | xij d. |
| Laurentius Roby | xij d. |
| Johannes Cok tanner | x s. |
| Johannes Sporyer | xij d. |
| Wyllielmus Symon | xx d. |
| Jenet Skenard | xx s. |
| Thomas Skenard | viij d. |
| Thomas Trevelyn | vj s. viij d. |
| Jenet Tanner | xvj d. |
| Harry Crypsyn | xx d. |
| Johannes Degendon | xij d. |
| Jankyn Laury | xij d. |
| Robertus Ive | xvj d. |
| Johannes Harry | iij s. iiij d. |
| Jenet Fowy | iiij d. |
| Johannes Dounyng | xij d. |
| Michael the mylar | xx d. |

RYNE STRET.

| | |
|---|---|
| Wyllielmus Pers | ij s. |
| Johannes Olly | xij d. |
| Willielmus Pencors | |
| Johannes Hancok | xx d. |
| Johannes Robyn | xvj d. |
| Thomas Lucombe | vj li. xiij s. iiij d. |
| Nance Rescawrck | iiij d. |
| Stephanus Wat | viij d. |
| Johannes Helyer | |
| | 6 li. 19 s. 4 d. |
| Thomas Robyn | xij d. |
| Johannes Fowy(?) | iiij d. |
| Stephanus Sany solutum | j d. |
| Uxor Cambrygge | iiij d. |
| Johannes Anwell | |
| Thomas Hicke | iiij d. |
| Thomas Ruthen Junr | xij d. |
| Uxor T. Wotton | j d. |
| Johannes Wyll servus Wytfen | vj d. |
| Emot Shypster | viij d. |
| Item of John Wat | iij d. |
| Item Thomas Bonde | j d. |
| Item for the beruall & the porpell garlemet* | vj d. |
| Ricardus Ronold | j d. |
| Johannes Tregasow | j d. |

* Probably a pall and trappings for burials.

CROCKEWYLLANE.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Rob*ertus* Beste | | xvj d. |
| Elyus Storgen | | |
| Raf Stephyn | | viij d. |
| Marg*are*t*a* Hopkyn * | | ij d. |
| Jenet Nycoll an anwell | | |
| Joh*annes* Donnow | | xij d. |
| Elizabeth*a* Stryppe | | iiij d. |
| Emot Tan*n*er | | viij d. |
| Wyll*ielm*us Fremason | xiij s. | iiij d. |
| Jamis Glover | iij s. | iiij d. |
| It*em* of a man of Walys | | iiij d. |
| Roger*us* Walt*er* | | xx d. |
| Leonard*us* Gylys | | viij d. |
| Thom*as* Bocher | | xij d. |
| Isabell*a* Reskarek | viij s. | iiij d. |
| Rob*ertus* Wen*er* | | viij d. |
| Nicoll famula T. Wat | | iiij d. |
| Joh*annes* Cok Jun^or^ | | vj d. |
| Joh*annes* Baron | | j d. |
| Thom*as* Witfen | | iiij d. |
| Harry Sebeley | | ij d. |
| Rob*ertus* John *ser*uus Johannis Tankard | | iiij d. |
| Joh*annes* Knygt *servus* Rob*erti* Russh | | iiij d. |
| Joh*annes* Bettow | | xx d. |
| Wyll*ielmus* Potte*r* | | iiij d. |
| Henr*icus* Ratynbry | | iiij d. |
| Annis Taber | | ij d. |
| Joh*annes* Koc fili*us* Wil*lielmi* Koc | | iiij d. |
| Thom*as* Peute*r* Jun^r^ | | |
| Joh*annes* Mayow *servus* Lucomb | | ij d. |
| Joh*annes* Huchyns *servus* Joachym*i* Hope*r* | | iiij d. |
| Joh*annes* Nicolyn | | xiiij d. |
| Roger*us* Yonge | | xij d. |
| Harr*y* Harry de Glyn | | x s.* |
| Ade Jun^or^ | | iiij d. |
| Sherston | iij s. | iiij d. |
| [Math . .?] the leche | | xx d. |
| Morrys Tretheff | | xij d. |
| Ric*ar*d*us* Peute*r* | | iiij d. |

* Erased.

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